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Confidence vote puts Kohl in and Schmidt out

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

...elmut Kohl has replaced Helmut Schmidt as Bonn Chancellor by a ...jin of seven in a Bundestag vote of ...nfidence.

...is only the second time this consti...al provision has been used, and ...first time it has succeeded in ...ing about a change of government ...-term.

...vote marked the end of an era, ...od of 13 years during which the ...al and Free Democrats shared ...r in Bonn, and the beginning of a ...chapter.

...Bundestag debate had its impres... exciting and humanly moving mo...

> **The Change in Bonn**
> Foreign policy: page 2
> Helmut Kohl: page 3
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...s, as for instance in the exchanges ...en FDP and SPD floor leaders ...nick and Wehner.

...t it lacked the drama of Christian ...ocrat Rainer Barzel's vote of no ...fidence against Willy Brandt on 27 ...l 1972.

...mes have changed. Despite the ...tywide tension the fact remained Chancellor Schmidt had declared ...ld coalition over and admitted he ...nger had a majority.

...t will continue to have been the ...regardless of bids by Herr Schmidt ...the Social Democrats to make out the Free Democrats to have been solely to blame for the break-up of the SPD-FDP coalition.

It is also a fact that Herr Schmidt's government had for months been incapable of action, with confusion reigning in Bonn and the SPD undermining the authority of an SPD Chancellor even more than the FDP was doing.

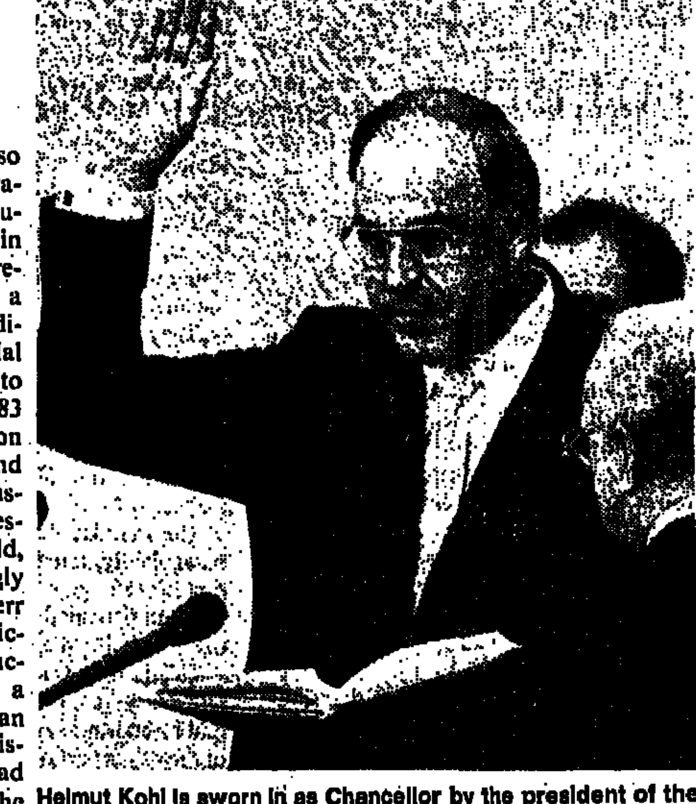
This could not continue indefinitely. Yet it was hard to part company with Chancellor Schmidt, a man of political stature and personal resolution. Both were apparent in his final speech to the Bundestag as Chancellor, a speech in which he trenchantly attacked both the Christian and Free Democrats.

In this his political testament he had his say on German-American friendship, on Nato and above all on missile modernisation, the danger of unilateral disarmament and the threat to freedom and democracy from the Greens.

Many fellow-Social Democrats will have been less than enthusiastic about what he had to say, but Helmut Schmidt remained true to himself to the last. It will be hard for Herr Kohl to follow in his footsteps, but Helmut Kohl deserves to be given the benefit of the doubt for his initial 100 days.

He, like Herr Schmidt, must be measured in terms of the policy he pursues in practice rather than of the doubts that are expressed in him. All that can be said for sure is that he will have a hard time of it. The country is in the throes of its most serious crisis ever and the legacy left behind by the old coalition is no fun. Matters cannot be mended overnight, especially as the new coalition, although it may be determined to make economies, cannot afford to pursue ruthless cuts. The cuts decided on so far testify to courage to take unpopular moves, and in the blend they represent they are a step in the right direction. The initial test, the run-up to the 6 March 1983 general election Rainer Barzel and Heiner Geissler assured the Bundestag would be held, is an alarmingly short run. Can Herr Kohl carry conviction with initial successes in such a short period? Can he succeed in dispelling widespread irritation in the

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Helmut Kohl is sworn in as Chancellor by the president of the Bundestag, Richard Stücklen. (Photo: J. H. Darchinger)



...ture of sympathy

...n ambassador to Bonn, Arthur F. Burns, greets an old ...Helmut Schmidt during a diplomatic corps reception in ... The next day Schmidt became a former Chancellor. (Photo: dpa)

Strong ties with the West, but no Cold War approach

To imply that the friends of Cold War are knocking at the door of the Bonn Cabinet is to foster panic for obvious political reasons.

It is also a dishonest attempt to say that only one party has the ability to keep the peace.

Yet the new Bonn government's foreign policy is still only apparent in broad outline. The coalition agreement contained no more than a few catch-phrases.

They repeat, for the most part, the ideas that formed the basis of foreign policy in the past, such as the call for genuine detente and a balance of power to keep the peace.

It must not, of course, be overlooked that the meaning of such concepts is controversial. The call for genuine detente reminded many left-wing Social Democrats of President Reagan's agitation.

It entails appropriate counter-concessions by the Soviet Union. But what is appropriate and what is reasonable?

If words are not to be trusted, what then? People and interests? In foreign affairs Chancellor Kohl is a dark horse, apart from repeated declarations that what he wants is the same as Herr Schmidt and Herr Genscher sought to achieve, but slightly different.

It may be safely assumed that as a self-proclaimed Adenauer man he will attach greater importance to Bonn's ties with the West.

This is an intention that members of the outgoing government unfairly dismissed as submission to or servility toward Mr Reagan.

Bonn's ties with the West have nothing to do with Kohl or Schmidt, or Reagan for that matter. They are in the national interest, a point on which there was no doubt under Herr Schmidt either.

But Chancellor Kohl will initially have priorities other than foreign policy. If he is to ensure political survival he must concentrate on the economy.

Foreign affairs will continue to be handled by an experienced man. Herr Genscher, the FDP leader, has been Foreign Minister since 1974.

Some may take a dim view of describing Herr Genscher as a guarantee of consistency, but it is a claim that must be taken seriously in respect of foreign policy. He helped to frame and carry out the foreign policy of the Schmidt government, although Social Democrats Herbert Wehner, Willy Brandt and

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IN THIS ISSUE

■ BONN

Foreign policy and the new government: changes will be ones of emphasis

Günter Diehl, chief government spokesman in Bonn under CDU Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger from 1966 to 1969, and former German ambassador to India and Japan, wrote this article for *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt.*

Foreign friends in particular are wondering whether the new Bonn government will make changes in foreign and security policy.

There will be no fundamental changes because national interests are defined in virtually identical terms by all democratic parties.

This has been clear for years in all major Bundestag debates. So in all probability there will be merely a few changes in emphasis.

"In foreign policy there is not much to choose between us and the government," a leading Christian Democrat told the writer in confidence some time ago.

This remained the case until very recently. But attention was distracted from this because the SPD-FDP government had to make so many allowances for minority views.

As a result, foreign policy decisions were hampered.

It may be due to this vagueness, this German fog, that a degree of uncertainty has descended on German intentions. People both at home and abroad have been *wondering* just where Bonn stands.

One explanation has been put forward by a Social Democrat who served alongside the writer in the days of the 1966-69 Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats.

Uncertainty in ties with the Soviet Union on the one hand and with Germany's allies on the other he says is because the Social and Free Democrats coalition were not strong enough to continue the *Deutschlandpolitik* and *Ostpolitik* embarked on with such a wide-ranging domestic consensus by the Grand Coalition.

Policy on Germany and toward the East bloc grew less balanced, was too often the subject of party-political disputes and eventually emerged as a self-sustaining purpose for left-wingers.

It was, they innocently said, a policy to which there was no alternative, which is hardly the best one can say of a foreign policy concept.

Even honourable attempts simply to continue with the policy at times lost sight of the original objectives and occasionally testified to a lack of ability to make straightforward distinctions.

One example is the tendency to equate the Soviet Union and the United States.

If circumstances permit, the Soviet Union could well be left to its own devices for a while without constantly being badgered by verbal aggression.

Moscow has more problems than we, when all is said and done. The post-Brezhnev Soviet leadership must first come to terms with itself.

The Kremlin is, in any case, well aware that the Federal Republic of Germany is always willing to talk, and noone has any intention of going back on the treaties already signed.

Are we in favour of economic cooperation with the East? Yes, but without favoured status and without penalties, on a strictly commercial basis.

Bids to stabilise economic systems in the Communist-ruled countries, systems doomed to inefficiency, are too much for us and could spell danger to this country.

The opportunity of widening the basis on which German politics rests is one that must be taken, given that democratic parties are bound to agree in their assessment of national priorities.

Peace, freedom and unity must be the goals, equal in importance and inseparable other than to the country's detriment.

They are the context in which the sacrifices made in Bonn's treaties with the Eastern bloc make sense.

If the link is severed there will be neither political stability nor peacekeeping based on the observation of human rights.

The malaise will disappear once we have visibly, tangibly reverted to moral quality in our relations with the Communist-ruled states, including for the time being the GDR.

This is how we in the Federal Republic can be sure of retaining the esteem and affection of our fellow-countrymen in the other part of Germany.

Boosting the prestige of the GDR regime is none of our business. It is up to the powers that be in East Berlin to see to that.

It is none too difficult to visualise their position, so invective is inappropriate.

We are willing and able to work with them on one issue or another, but there can be no question of intimacy or companionship. The government in East Berlin wields power by the grace of others and lacks democratic legitimacy.

That is why the Soviet Union cannot, any more than our allies can, be dismissed from its solemn undertakings toward Germany as a whole.

> **‘Boosting prestige of the GDR is no business of the Federal Republic’**

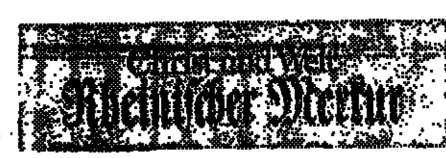
Saying and showing that German foreign policy is geared to basic values and, although it is strictly down-to-earth, is not prepared to disregard dignity and self-respect could be the key to consolidating our relationship of trust with the United States.

No-one can be surprised that we are having trouble with the United States and the Americans are having trouble with us.

We cannot be indifferent to ourselves, but problems are relativised the moment one realises they cannot destroy a friendship based on common interests and convictions.

A country of Germany's size and in Germany's geographical location is ill advised to engage as a sporting activity in slating one US President after another in the most primitive manner year after year.

Germans nowadays seem intent on gunning for America and making scathing comments about US leaders.



Every Tom, Dick and Harry in politics and the media seems called on to criticise the United States and idolise the Soviet Union.

A divided country such as our own will always be in political jeopardy, easily given to neurotic traits, and that is why others make allowances for us.

We are well aware of the fact, but to ensure our very survival we must see to it that political common sense and good manners retain the upper hand over aberrations.

Our allies have, thank heavens, lent us every assistance for 30 years because they either realise or have a good idea what it must mean to feel that our fellow-countrymen in the other part of Germany are still refused the right of self-determination, let alone other basic rights, despite liberation from Nazi tyranny.

Provided we ourselves remain committed to our goals our allies will pay due regard to our rights.

Doubters may like to recall that France returned the Saar to Germany, its last prize of a precarious victory, because it preferred not to pervert the right to self-determination.

So we must re-establish mutual trust and ensure that we are not caught again between the fronts, which is something Europe cannot bear.

Why not? Because we are not small enough not to matter to our neighbours and not large enough to be able to strike a balance between the forces around us.

This is the point at which Germany's European policy is profoundly, lastingly justified. Far from being an obstacle, it is the prerequisite for the exercise of the right to self-determination in all Germany.

Here too there is a far-reaching groundwork laid by all democratic forces in the Federal Republic.

A bid to bring about political unity by simple but effective means and without undue red tape, as undertaken by the ASEAN countries, for instance, could be undertaken on a wide front.

Harmonisation of German and French views in a constant dialogue will have an important part to play.

How Europe is to be defended is another issue we must come to terms with, and we would be well advised to start wondering, even though answers will be not easy to find.

It would be good if in taking stock we were all jointly (if possible) to arrive at the conclusion that we are too fixated on East-West ties, arms and disarmament.

We, the free and democratically ruled countries, who not for nothing are also highly industrialised and technologically advanced, exercise a greater power of attraction than the Soviet Union.

Our way of life is felt to be exemplary to such an extent that we feel bound to warn others not to repeat our mistakes.

This is the point at which to repeat, for clarity's sake, that the Federal Republic regrds the non-alignment of many Third World countries as a co[…] tructive policy.

The only exception is the decli[…] number of instances in which the c[…] cept of non-alignment is a fig-leaf […] to cover up pro-Communist policies.

The emerging countries that […] their own way after the collapse of […] lonialism are our partners and frie[…] because we have no neo-colonialis[…] jectives and do not pursue power p[…] tics.

We thus call neither their soverei[…] nor their national independence […] question.

In foreign trade policy we ought to […] gravitating toward new centres of po[…] cal stability and economic devel[…] ment, such as Asia and the Pacific.

They are where our funds should […] invested. If invested rightly, they […] promptly be reinvested in Germany […] help us to handle our own econo[…] problems.

Charity and the missionary appro[…] are inappropriate in ties between sta[…] Their place needs taking by cooperat[…] from which both partners know th[…] stand to benefit.

Relations are stabilised when it gr[…] apparent tht we are particularly hap[…] to lend a hand in, say, boosting infr[…] tructure when that means nursing […] commodities or sales market of […] own.

> **‘Charity and the missionary approach are not appropriate’**

The concept of donor and recip[…] countries has done more political […] mage than the material assistance […] done good.

A further formula, the idea of No[…] South ties, is equally unsuitable beca[…] it implies a fresh conflict. There is […] need to assume this must be the case.

We will continue to be asked to […] ply arms, and by the terms of our […] regulations we could do so when it […] in our interest.

Even in such a sensitive area as […] consensus is possible. It must be re[…] sed that refusal to cooperate in the […] sector is tantamount to moral cond[…] nation of the country that made the […] ginal request.

It implies that we Germans do […] trust it to make responsible use of ar[…] ments to keep the peace and to ma[…] tain political stability.

We shouldn't pass such judgme[…] and we would be well advised i[…] wider context to be less strict in […] judgments on others.

In several cases where Germ[…] interests are not at stake it would […] better to keep our views to ourselves.

Periodic intervention by governm[…]

Continued on page 5

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BONN

Kohl shows his mettle in the run up to power

[…]he final spurt towards the chancel[…]lorship showed once more that Hel[…] Kohl has the qualities it needs to […] political hurdles.

[…]hile his friends are not quite sure […]her or not to admire these quali[…], his enemies don't know whether it […] to mock them.

[…]al's attributes are staying power, […] nerves, a whiff of naiveté and the […]ty to roll with the punches.

[…]er since he entered politics, he has […] to prove to others that he is better […] they are. In doing so he has fre[…]ly had to use his elbows, though […] he used his brains and the abili[…] take advantage of his rivals' weak[…]es.

[…]ohl has long been under pressure to […] up to the superlatives that have […] circulated about him.

[…]fter the war, aged 17, he became the […]gest co-founder of the CDU. At 29, […] the youngest member of parlia[…] and at 35 the youngest floor […]r in a state assembly.

[…] when he became prime minister […] Rhineland-Palatinate at the age of 39 […] also the youngest head of a Ger[…] state government. And at 52 he is […] the youngest Chancellor of the Fe[…] Republic of Germany.

[…]hl's youth was remarkable only […] it went with a drive to change […]. Even his earliest tentative steps […]litics within the young members' […] of the CDU were marked by […] and strife.

[…]s could lead one to the conclusion […] fighting was the innermost mean[…] of his life, but this is only so when […] in retrospect.

[…] 1963, when he achieved his first […] political office by becoming […] floor leader in Rhineland-Palati[…], he was already certain that the […] stage would be to step into Prime […]ster Peter Altmeier's shoes.

[…]meier was one of the straightfor[…], honourable politicians of the […] era, and Kohl bided his time […] years before assuming his offi[…]. In doing so, he skipped a whole ge[…]tion, marking a complete change in […]cal style and substance.

[…]hl has always been a professional […]ician. He is a university graduate […] studied law and history and made […] doctorate with a thesis on "The Re[…]gence of Parties After the […]pse".

[…] a while, he was employed by the […]icals Industry Association; but […]so, his work was always of a politi[…] nature.

[…] had made a name for himself as a […]ster even before he became state […] minister. It was he who brought […] the Rhineland-Palatinate educa[…] reform that did away with paro[…] and "one-room" schools.

[…]fore taking charge of the cabinet, […] managed to channel two of his most […] friends into it, who continued to […]port him from there: Heiner Geiss[…] and Bernhard Vogel.

[…]oth were elected to the Bundestag in […], and neither of them would have […] up his cabinet post in state poli[…] in favour of a seat in the Bonn par[…]ent for anybody but Helmut Kohl.

[…]y enlisting them, Kohl once more […]ed his proverbial talent for putting […] right person in the right place.

Although the CDU/CSU elite in Bonn and Munich at that time mocked the young Kohl as a "country boy" with a somewhat "baroque" way of life, Kohl himself regarded his post simply as a preliminary exercise for the office he ultimately strove for, along with other politicians. The only difference was that he was more certain than the others of attaining it.

His probation time as the Prime Minister of Rhineland-Palatinate has convinced him that he will be a chancellor like no other.

His assistants agree with him inasmuch as they describe him as "a government personality," a man who must hold a government post to assert his authority and make the best of his talents.

Looking back, his road from Mainz to the Chancellery in Bonn must appear to him like a march through a dark valley in the course of which many of his former companions left him and former friends began to doubt him as past glory dimmed.

Kohl was far less successful on a national plane than he had been in state politics.

This might have to do with the fact that the tasks assigned to him by the CDU leadership were rather unrewarding. Thus, for instance, he was made chairman of a commission that was to have developed the "Berlin Programme".

Though Kohl could still come to terms with the fact that his ideas on *Deutschlandpolitik* were too progressive for the conservative party leadership, it took him a long time to recover from the defeat on the labour participation issue.

Having misjudged the majorities at the 1971 party congress in Düsseldorf, he dropped his own pro-labour model and voted for Alfred Dregger's promanagement approach that was later passed. But the majority was so slim that it became obvious that Kohl's model would have been adopted had he stuck to his guns.

The premiership of Rhineland-Palatinate, which he assumed in 1969, was tailor-made for him.

He soon dominated the scene at the Mainz palace that houses the state government like a duke in his principality.

Together with his government team, he took the small, backward state of forests, gardens and vineyards into the 20th century.

He attracted industry (and despite the influx of traditionally Social Democratic blue collar workers he managed to corner the absolute majority for the CDU); he introduced municipal reforms and rezoned; together with Heiner Geissler, he also reformed the social affairs and public health system, brought the trade unions and management to the negotiating table and paralysed the opposition. In fact, his SPD rival, Alfred Dröscher, was one of his secret admirers.

It was also Kohl who set aside times when people could come and put their problems before him — a move that proved extremely popular.

Even in those days, his family (he has two sons) saw little of him, and they were lucky if they had a weekend together.

Kohl's see-sawing disappointed not only the reform wing of his party but also the conservative wing, who saw him as an opportunist who bends with the wind.

One of his major mistakes was standing against Rainer Barzel for the party chairmanship. Barzel received almost three times as many votes as Kohl and became the Chancellorship nominee but was defeated a short while later in the autumn 1972 elections.

By the time Barzel resigned the chairmanship, Kohl's position was firm enough to win him the post.

It was at that time that Kohl established ties with two other politicians who were to have a major impact on his career. One of them was Hans-Dietrich Genscher with whom he talked about a CDU/CSU-FDP coalition the night following the 1969 national elections — at the same time that Walter Scheel and Willy Brandt had already agreed on an SPD-FDP coalition.

At the time, Kohl thought Genscher



Helmut Kohl . . . the youngest Chancellor in his moment of triumph.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

meant that the FDP would muster enough votes to elect Kurt Georg Kiesinger as Chancellor.

The other was Franz Josef Strauss, with whom he had a head-on clash and who was to prove fateful. When Kohl was narrowly defeated in the 1976 national elections, Strauss proceeded to break away from the CDU/CSU alliance (the Bad Kreuth decision). The rift was subsequently mended.

Among Kohl's positive traits is that he bears no lasting grudges against his rivals, opponents or partners. He also never hits below the belt.

During his six years in Bonn, he has frequently given the impression of an amateur among pros. But he has always had a sound nose for what makes the citizen tick. Helmut Kohl is not exactly a brilliant orator. But he can lay claim to being a Chancellor who understands the man-in-the-street.

Klaus Dreher

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 30 September 1982)

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Egon Bahr always suspected him of lacking enthusiasm and initiative on *Ostpolitik* and arms control.

This accusation, as Herr Genscher both suspected and feared, was motivated more by consideration for Social Democrats strongly critical of Herr Schmidt's foreign and security policy than by a realistic assessment of the position.

On the day of the Bundestag debate Willy Brandt said detente was not a state of affairs; it was a dynamic process. Treaties with the Eastern bloc must not just be fulfilled but instilled with life.

But Afghanistan, Poland and the Soviet missile build-up are not states of affairs either; they are part of the dynamic process of imperialistic Soviet foreign policy.

This is something Bonn's foreign policy cannot afford to disregard. What does than mean? It means first that policy must concentrate on protecting and maintaining what has already been achieved.

That is what the new Bonn government has in mind, and credibly so, since it is in the national interest.

No government in its right senses can afford to jeopardise the benefits of the Four-Power Berlin Agreements and progress in intra-German ties.

None can be in favour of an uncontrolled arms race or of subordinating Germany's economic interests to set ideological ideas in Washington as demanded in connection with the Soviet gas pipeline contract.

This does not mean running after the Spirit of Werbellinsee (where Helmut Schmidt conferred with the East German leader, Herr Honecker, last December), which is largely a phantom.

It does not mean backing ideas of a more independent role for Europe should the arms control talks threaten to break down.

Such bids would not only weaken the Western alliance but also undermine Bonn's position by encouraging Soviet hopes of driving a wedge between America and Europe after all.

The temptation must be all the greater for the Soviet Union now it can no longer count on a rapprochement between the superpowers in the second half of President Reagan's term.

This it can hardly do, given the Kremlin's failure to solve its own leadership problems and Mr Reagan's ideological inflexibility.

When policy stagnates between the superpowers there is no way in which Bonn can bring about fresh movement, let alone detente.

The dynamic process in foreign policy is heading not toward more detente but toward greater tension. The new Bonn government could soon find itself facing a test of nerves.

As for missile modernisation, the Geneva talks are almost certain to break down, with the result that there is likely to be domestic unrest.

Herr Kohl will find it no easier than Herr Schmidt would have done to gain acceptance of a new generation of medium-range nuclear missiles stationed in Germany.

The Social Democrats must already be aware that they will share responsibility for determining whether we emerge from this particular debate with our alliance ties, our security and our democracy unscathed.

As for Poland, it faces a restive winter that may well lead to fresh disagreement in the West on the right reaction.

Caught in the dilemma between ideology and interest, the new government might find itself on the move faster and more furiously than it intended.

Dieter Schröder

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 October 1982)



BONN

Schmidt: not a man to leave the helm voluntarily

For years Helmut Schmidt felt nothing but contempt for Helmut Kohl. He thoroughly disliked the CDU leader and Shadow Chancellor.

He thinly veiled this personal dislike by referring to the edge he clearly felt he enjoyed over Herr Kohl in ability and experience.

But Herr Schmidt was not the man to make a point of not wishing Herr Kohl all the best when he won the vote of confidence and took over as Chancellor.

He remains convinced that he himself would be the better Chancellor by far, but he has far too much respect for democratic institutions to be motivated solely by personal animosity at such a time.

Schmidt will obviously have expected his Chancellorship to come to an end on a different note, and it was bound to do so whichever way the voting went.

If Herr Kohl had failed to get the majority he needed, Chancellor Schmidt would have remained in office for a mere two months more pending fresh elections.

Arguably Schmidt might not have been able to visualise ever calling it a day. He is one of those people who would never voluntarily quit, either because they're conscientious or because they're convinced no-one else could do the job as well, let alone better.

His close associates have been known to suggest he might retire. He refused point-blank despite health problems. He also paid scant attention to warnings that the Social and Free Democratic coalition was on the verge of breakdown.

But when there was no longer any denying that its days were numbered he did not wait until his majority vanished into thin air; he forced his opponents, Genscher and Lambsdorff, to quit.

When the chips were down Chancellor Schmidt was determined not only to take his leave in dignity but also to do the right thing by his party, the Social Democrats.

He had always had difficulties with the SPD and was often at odds with it, even though he had served as vice-chairman of the party since 1968.

Schmidt first displeased the SPD when, as a former first lieutenant in the Wehrmacht, he took part in a Bundeswehr exercise for reservists a few years after rearmament, to which many Social Democrats had been strongly opposed.

He failed to gain election as SPD leader in his home town, Hamburg, while later, as floor leader, Cabinet Minister and Chancellor, he fought pitched battles with SPD leader Willy Brandt.

Herr Brandt, he felt, was opening the party too widely to new and fashionable trends.

He was at daggers drawn with left-wing Young Socialists. In Hamburg he once told party delegates then were stricken by a "crisis of the brain."

These battles went down in post-war SPD history, as have Schmidt's more recent disputes with Erhard Eppler, the former SPD leader in Baden-Württemberg, and Oskar Lafontaine, SPD mayor of Saarbrücken.

He took a dim view of Herr Brandt's determination to throw open the party to a wide range of centre-left views, preferring to rely on the trade unions and traditionally Social Democratic voters.

Helmut Schmidt did not like the idea of appealing and relying to any great extent on new social strata for support. He long had misgivings about the newcomers with their half-baked ideas.

Personal relations between Herr Schmidt and Herr Brandt have improved substantially in recent months, but the basic problem inherent in this difference in outlook remains.

So it would be amazing if Schmidt were to accept Herbert Wehner's offer of taking over from Herr Wehner, 76, as leader of the SPD parliamentary party.

That would be sure to lead to constant clashes, and they could well be even more serious now the SPD is in opposition in Bonn.

It would even be a personal sacrifice for the party's sake from Herr Schmidt's point of view if he were to stand for Chancellor in the general election next year.

He might well, as Shadow Chancellor, win the SPD several per cent more votes at the polls, but he would be unlikely to forget that he was being used solely as a vote-winner.

The SPD may have branded Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the FDP leader and Foreign Minister, a traitor. But Herr Schmidt and other Social Democrats are well aware that the SPD is partly to blame for the gradual break-up of the SPD-FDP coalition.

Herr Schmidt himself cannot entirely be absolved of blame. He was so worried by the prospect of worldwide deflation that he preferred not to reduce the

Süddeutsche Zeitung

national debt in the good years that followed the initial round of oil price increases in 1973/74.

He was too late in realising that the decline in GNP growth rates would make it impossible to continue many welfare and other financial provisions without cuts.

Instead of embarking on a change of direction in good time by making minor, cautious changes he waited until spring 1981, six months after the last general election, before proposing cuts that were, as he admitted, "asking a great deal of my parliamentary party."

These cuts, in the 1982 budget estimates, promptly brought tension in the coalition to a head. In the 1981 summer recess there was already talk of a choice between a turning point or calling it a day.

Schmidt the international economist neglected home ground. He counted on the trade unions' common sense, referred to even higher unemployment elsewhere and pilloried high US interest rates at every opportunity.

His international economic analyses sounded magnificent and no-one denied that he knew what he was talking about on monetary policy, but he allowed announcements and promises to be made that could not possibly be kept.

He allowed legislation to be passed that was bound to need amending and developments to take their course that necessitated quick repair jobs rather than drawing up long-term concepts by which to influence or determine the course of developments.

In comparison with his two immediate predecessors as Bonn Chancellor, Willy Brandt and Kurt Georg Kiesinger, Helmut Schmidt could rightly feel he was playing a leading role on the international economic stage.

He served only two years as Finance and Economic Affairs Minister, but he was an economics graduate and his theoretical knowledge had been fleshed out with practical experience as SPD leader in the Bundestag.

He first made a name for himself in security policy but was so disappointed at getting nowhere in Opposition in Bonn that in 1961 he returned to Hamburg as Senator for Home Affairs.

In 1962 large areas of the city were devastated by floods. Helmut Schmidt set aside legal provisions that were, in any case, unclear, and personally supervised and assumed responsibility for rescue and relief operations.

This earned him the reputation of being a man of action, an image he took good care to retain, although he was later less enthusiastic about it.

His interests, inclinations and preferences grew with each successive political assignment he took on.

As Defence Minister in the early years of the Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn he was sceptical about the *Ostpolitik* pursued by Willy Brandt and Egon Bahr.

He later became an enthusiastic advocate of what he even went so far as to call security partnership with Moscow. He visited East German leader Erich Honecker in the GDR and would like, if he manages to find the time, to write a book about the two German states.

He only showed reluctance when a strange combination of Helmut Kohl, the CDU leader, and intellectuals called on him to assume both political and intellectual leadership.

He suspected this appeal of representing a demand for ideological leadership, whereas he has always been in favour of a pragmatic approach.

Helmut Schmidt felt that political and intellectual leadership were not to be combined. He had no objection to lining the walls of the Chancellor's Office with paintings by artists banned in the Third Reich as degenerate.

He was happy to have a large Henry Moore statue in the garden of the Chancellor's Office, and these interests were genuine, not artificial.

But he was convinced that to be a moral authority, the conscience of the nation, as it were, was irreconcilable with the political job of running the government.

He is well aware that politics calls not just, as he regularly emphasises, for consistency and predictability, clarity and truth, but also for ploys and tactics, play-acting and gamesmanship.

Schmidt was one of the keenest advocates of emergency legislation (provisions drawn up in the late 60s for allocating responsibilities in the event of the proverbial emergency) in the SPD.

The exaggerated fears of its opponents may have been dispelled in time but he conceded some years later that he would, on reflection, prefer to have made somewhat different provisions in two or three instances.

But his major exercise in gamesmanship in recent years must surely have been Nato missile modernisation, the plan to introduce a new generation of medium-range US missiles in response to the threat posed by Soviet S-20s.

Puts a high rating on friendship: Helmut Schmidt. (Photo: J. H. Darchin[...])

He was seriously worried that the S[...] viet threat might result in military [...] political consequences that would h[...] been fateful for Europe.

That was why he sought on seve[...] occasions in hours of talks to imp[...] on Mr Brezhnev in person the con[...] quences. In the end the Soviet lead[...] was so riled that he brushed the pap[...] work from the table.

Herr Schmidt succeeded in gett[...] talks held between the Americans a[...] the Russians, but he will not origin[...] have envisaged 572 Pershing 2 [...] Cruise missiles being stationed in C[...] tral Europe if these talks were to b[...] down.

At times Herr Schmidt has run a [...] (and continues to do so) of allowing [...] political perspicacity to be clouded [...] personal relationships.

He rates friendships highly, eve[...] mutual respect is all they amoun[...] and once he is convinced that som[...] has outstanding personal qualities, [...] to nothing will make him change [...] mind.

In this connection the point that [...] ries least weight with Schmidt is [...] the person in question might be on [...] other side of the political fence.

Why else would he have invited [...] mann Höcherl of the CSU and Ch[...] tian Democrats Rainer Barzel and G[...] hard Schröder to his 40th wedding [...] niversary a few months ago? [...] Genscher, incidentally, was not invit[...]

Health problems have twice gi[...] him more trouble than he was prepa[...] to admit. A few month after he [...] over at the Defence Ministry his he[...] seemed to be declining rapidly. [...] doctors finally diagnosed and trea[...] him for glandular trouble.

Throughout 1981 he had heart tr[...] ble. In October he was given a pace[...] ker and sought to play down the ph[...] cal repercussions of his card[...] problems. But he is unlikely compl[...] to have recovered.

In recent weeks he has seemed [...] old self again, to have reverted to [...] old convictions. But that will have [...] mainly due to the feeling of enorm[...] relief resulting from his decision [...] make sure it was he and not others [...] determined when he was to call it a d[...]

After eight and a half years of b[...] restricted to the role of a linkman b[...] ween two conflicting interests Hel[...] Schmidt enjoyed once more, as he [...] his leave, the feeling of wielding pow[...]

Hans Reise[...]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 30 Septembe[...])

THE EEC

Proposal aims at forcing multinationals to reveal information

[...]sals to force multinational corporations with subsidiaries in Europe tell [...] workforces what is going on have [...] drawn up and tabled in the Europarliament. But voting has been delayed be[...] of opposition. There have been ob[...] from many firms, including some [...] America. Hans-Hagen Bremer, of *Die* [...] here describes the background to [...] have become known as the Vredeling Guidelines.

[...] 17 December 1980, the management and staff of the Belgian [...] works in Forest, near Brussels, [...] to their surprise that the plant [...] to be shut down two weeks later.

[...] management and workers knew [...] the company was in trouble. But [...] did not lessen the shock. A year [...] the 905 people employed at the [...] had been assured that it would [...] close down "even if we have to make brassieres one day instead of cars."

It was a courageous statement to make considering the problems of the motor industry as a whole.

The management at Forest were not told of the closure decision until it was final.

The European Trade Union Federation (ETF) quotes this case as "the most crass" example of how multinational corporations are powerless against their foreign head offices.

Management at Forest had no choice. They had to shut down the plant as told by the head office in Paris. That meant that a collective bargaining deal drawn up at Forest was not worth the paper it was written on. The deal provided that staff were to be consulted on all important decisions.

ETF says there should be laws to make sure that employees of European subsidiaries of multinational corporations are told what is going on. It has produced a list of 18 cases to make its point.

The European Parliament in Strasbourg last month dealt with a bill along these lines. The debate was held under the general heading "Vredeling Guidelines", after their author, Dutch Socialist Henk Vredeling, a former EEC commissioner.

The aim of the guidelines is to control the activities of multinational corporations in the EEC and make them conform to uniform European standards, so that people can find out what they are doing.

If this is achieved it would mark the first concrete success for the international trade union movement in a fight to limit the power of the multinationals that began ten years ago.

The Europarliament will present its recommendations at its next session in October.

The EEC Commission will then put its guidelines before the Council of Ministers for a final decision.

It remains to be seen, however, whether the vote in the Europarliament will soon be followed by a Council of Ministers decision.

The debate on the Vredeling paper, which the EEC Commission presented on 24 October 1980, has caused as much controversy on a European plane as labour co-determination caused in Germany.

Essentially, the draft provides that the head office of a corporation must regularly tell subsidiaries of important economic and financial matters concerning the corporation as a whole.

This obligation would include investment, cutbacks, and closures, the shifting plants, new production methods, and cooperation with other companies.

The subsidiaries would be obliged to tell staff representatives.

Sanctions would be imposed where there were breaches.

Predictably, this has upset managements.

UNICE, a federation of European industrial associations, questioned the need for such guidelines.

The 40,000 companies that form UNICE, a statement by the federation said, would be subjected to an information obligation that they fulfil anyway — mostly voluntarily.

The National Federation of German Industry (BDI), a powerful member of UNICE, and the National Association of German Employers (BDA) also rejected the guidelines as "superfluous and dangerous to the social climate."

Labour-management relations, they said, were organic and historic structures within the EEC that differed from country to country.

BDI and BDA suggested that the criteria as used in the guidelines would apply not only to multinational corporations but to medium sized companies as well and that they would expose them to an "unchecked information and consultation obligation."

According to the London *Financial Times*, it was primarily America's industry that reacted angrily to the proposals because they would also apply to the European subsidiaries of companies based outside the Common Market.

The National Foreign Trade Council in New York and the American Chamber of Commerce in Brussels said that this all would have an effect on American investments in Europe.

Individual American corporations with European subsidiaries jointly whipped up support against the proposals.

Their action is spearheaded by lawyer Bart Fisher, a partner in the Washington law firm Patton, Boggs & Blow.

According to the *International Herald Tribune*, Fisher — acting for his industrial clients, among them the food firm Mars — managed to persuade some senators and congressmen to table bills in Congress that would, under penalty, prohibit US companies from revealing business data to Europe.

The campaign mounted by Fisher, who, in an interview with the French daily *Le Monde*, threatened retaliatory action by American industry, raised some eyebrows in his own camp.

Several major corporations, including IBM, Kodak, Ford, General Motors and International Harvester, publicly distanced themselves from his threats. And the National Foreign Trade Council struck Fisher's law office from its membership list.

America's industrial lobby is trying to be more discreet in puthing its views to Europeans.

US industrialists no longer want to protest directly against the guidelines. Instead, they want to exert their influence on EEC institutions through UNICE.

The Vredeling Guidelines, which were originally expected to gather dust in the drawers of EEC bureaucrats, have kicked it up instead.

The EEC Economic and Social Affairs Committee — a consultative body consisting of labour, management and representatives of such disparate interests as the trades, farmers and consumers — has voted narrowly in favour.

The Europarliament's legal, economic and social affairs committees, have also voted in favour.

A proposal by the German Christian Democrat Philipp von Bismarck to water the guidelines down on some points found no majority in the economic affairs committee.

A "moderate" recommendation by a British Conservative MEP put forward in the social affairs committee was defeated by a majority consisting of Christian Democrats, Socialists and Communists.

The course of the committee meetings made it clear that the Vredeling paper can no longer be brushed aside in the European Parliament.

The "opposition" is therefore trying to delay matters through a flood of amendment proposals.

This has been made easier because the text of the Commission's draft is unclear in parts.

The 284 amendment motions, many of which have not yet been translated into the official languages of the Community, have forced the Europarliament to postpone voting in October.

It is, however, unlikely that these delaying tactics will prevent a majority in favour.

The major points concern not only the question as to how large a company must be for the guidelines to apply but also how often management must inform the staff. They also concern the question as to how extensive and binding this information obligation is to be.

While the opponents of the guidelines (primarily British Conservatives and some Christian Democrats and Liberals) favour only principles governing voluntary information and are trying to reduce the extent of the information through special secrecy clauses, the supporters (primarily Euro-MPs close to the trade unions, Socialists, Communists and some Christian Democrats) insist on binding legal provisions.

Hans-Hagen Bremer

(Die Zeit, 1 October 1982)

Foreign policy

Continued from page 2

[...] political parties is all the more du[...] when double standards are applied and material back-up cannot be [...]ded.

[...] Gandhi said to Mountbatten: [...] us alone."

[...] one has firm principles they [...] in all directions and to everyone. [...] a compass the course cannot [...] maintained.

[...]tners near and far feel guidelines [...] useful. They would like to know [...] they stand. This is no way con[...] the fact that German foreign [...] incorporates its fair share of [...]atism and must continue to do so. [...]plomacy is out of the question un[...] there is some degree of readiness to [...]promise.

[...] national interests are affected [...] basic values of state and society are [...]stake. In such cases we must clearly [...] where we stand and brook no am[...]ity.

[...] fail to do so, national identity [...] the loser.

[...]gligible though differences on [...] policy between political parties [...] Bonn may, on closer scrutiny, be [...] to be, there may still be strong di[...] on ways and means.

[...] this is not the time for subtle in[...] or coarse accusations. What Ger[...] wants is a sign of solidarity on [...] and security policy.

[...] neighbours call for certainty on [...] views and intentions. Everyone [...] to know what Bonn has in mind [...] to feel sure they can rely on it.

[...] ought even at this stage still to be [...] able to retain a level-headed out[...] and a sense of balance in foreign [...]

[...] ought also still to be possible to [...] combine them with the desire to keep [...] alive as a single unit commit[...] to peace and freedom.

[...] Germany must allow all free-born [...] everything life has to offer. It [...] then be indeed our common birth[...]

Günter Diehl

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 1 October 1982)

Confidence vote puts Kohl in

Continued from page 1

electorate and gaining confidence? Can he keep Strauss at bay? Can the FDP regain electoral support in time? For the sake of party politics one can but hope it does.

Survival of the FDP in the Bundestag would surely be preferable to absolute majorities, and definitely preferable to the catastrophe of a hung parliament.

So from now on the Liberals must make an all-out effort to present a distinctive appearance, and to do so they will need the support of left-wing Liberals who are now sulking in the wings.

The electoral position will be similar to 1980 in that then as now the opponent is Herr Strauss.

One can but hope that FDP voters, when the emotional dust has settled, gradually come to realise this is the case. The next general election could, like 1980, be an anti-Strauss vote.

To strengthen the FDP would be to weaken Herr Strauss's position.

If the coalition led by Herr Kohl and Herr Genscher were to fail in the short term troubled times would lie ahead: either a minority government or a Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats.

It would not be the first Grand Coalition, but a coalition of the two major parties would be undesirable nonetheless. The alternative would be for the Greens, or environmentalists, and the Reds, or Social Democrats, to succeed in taking the country to the brink of ungovernability.

Jürgen Offenbach

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 2 October 1982)

■ THE ECONOMY

Immediate steps needed to stabilise banking system

Bonn economic policy makers have taken the easy way out by blaming unemployment on stagnating growth, structural changes in the world economy and lack of demand.

These explanations are as superficial as attempts to blame it all on anti-inflationary policy. The fact is that Germany's economy would have been strong enough to cope with the world-wide crisis if Bonn had heeded the warnings in time.

Economic policy everywhere until right into the 1960s was directed at high growth through cheap money. And this is exactly what was needed in the first post-war decade.

The overall growth of net earnings permitted an ever more generous wage policy which climaxed in a wage explosion in 1969, together with a fine-mesh social security net.

Public sector spending grew at a dizzying rate and with it, of course, the public debt.

But then, in the late 1960s, the world began to change. The excesses of previous years claimed their toll and growth was halted.

But the policy makers ignored this and the much admired Federal Republic of Germany, along with other countries, stumbled into the turbulent 1970s.

The monetary confusion that was to follow was foreshadowed at an early stage. To prevent the deutschemark from skyrocketing beyond its actual value, the Bundesbank had to buy billions of dollars and sell deutschemarks. This boosted the liquidity of banks and, along with it, the inflation rates.

The consequences of the transition to floating exchange rates coincided with the quadrupling of oil prices.

The reaction was slow in coming and now, seduced by the temporary weakness of Opec (which has purely economic reasons), we are once more neglecting the task of finding alternative sources of energy.

We also pay too little attention to the overburdening of the international financing system through the excessive indebtedness of many countries.

What is needed now is more stringent bank controls, a legally stipulated consolidation of the balances of banking concerns and safeguards in time against a possible collapse of banks. We must not allow ourselves to leave a dangerous development unchecked but must take preventive action.

Since wage policy did not immediately after the oil shock take into account that buying power would be transferred to the Opec countries, a recession occurred in 1974 and 1975, together with spiralling inflation rates.

Industry, fighting the deterioration of the cost-price ratio, became vulnerable. As earnings dwindled, investments also declined. Capital investments in this country rose by only 18 per cent in the 1970s, compared with 49 per cent in Japan.

The growing volume of state borrowing put a strain on capital markets and hiked interest rates.

Those who today maintain that our growing exports prove our competitiveness tend to overlook the fact that the influx of foreign orders rose only as long as the deutschemark was cheap for foreign buyers.

But things have changed now, and foreign orders are declining. And exports will follow suit with a slight time lag.

There can be no overlooking the fact that Germany is lagging behind technologically, which means that it must step up research and development.

Following intensive and concerted discussions, it should be able to change the social security system.

Legislators have gone overboard in providing social benefits that can now no longer be paid for.

But since no coalition wants to face an election campaign under the cloud of having dismantled the social security system, it is unlikely that any reforms will be made instantly.

This also applies to the reorientation of fiscal policy as a whole. The supplementary budget for 1982 and the 1983 federal budget must be passed before the year is over. But it is unthinkable that this will be done in one fell swoop.

New rehabilitation measures will be modest and more borrowing inevitable. What is possible, however, is to shift the emphasis from consumption to investment spending. This would have to be followed in 1983 by a combination of higher direct and lower indirect taxes in the form of increased VAT.

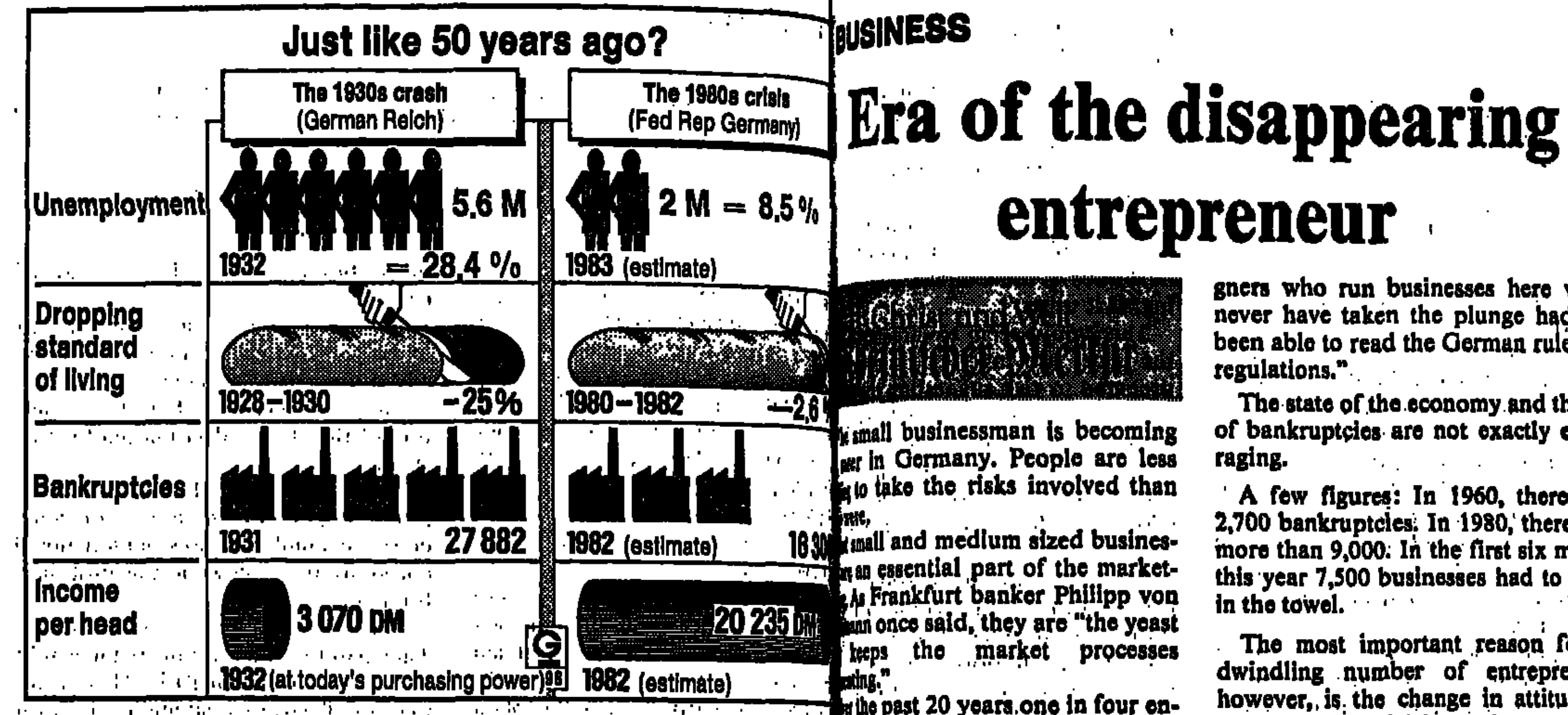
Since 1983 will predictably bring with it serious setbacks in the international economy, any new economic policy will have to make the necessary provisions to cope with such risks.

And any long-term programme must also aim at creating new jobs. Such a programme should include deregulation, stemming state bureaucracy and changing the public sector spending policy with the new emphasis being on investment. We also need a more equitable system of social benefits, more confidence in the economy and continued restructuring of our industrial production with a view to preserving jobs.

In short, the entire fiscal system is needs reorganisation. Germany has paid dearly in the past 18 months to learn its lesson.

Walter Trautmann

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 24 September 1982)



On the brink of disaster as new patterns emerge

Eleven million are out of work in EEC countries, including two million in Germany. Twenty five million are out of work in OECD countries.

This and other indicators show that the world economy is on the verge of a major crisis. Since the spring, the slump has worsened in almost every country, including Germany.

The Kiel Institute for the World Economy is pessimistic: it forecasts that demand and production in Western Europe and Japan will decline further.

And even in the United States there is no sign that the continued slump will now be followed by a marked improvement.

Other forecasts are equally pessimistic. They say the further decline in the world economy will also cut back foreign orders in Germany.

According to the Bundesbank, the trend will soon result in a fall in exports. Exports will no longer act as the locomotive of the economy.

What is happening now is that new economic patterns are becoming visible, reflecting the worldwide crisis and the growing current account problems of the Third World and the East Bloc countries, which have had to cut down on their imports.

This has made the domestic market all the more important. Home demand must be stimulated.

The next Bonn government should concentrate on a double strategy, reactivating the principles of a economy, investment potentials must thoroughly strengthened at the cost consumption while not losing sight the importance of consolidating and social security finances. This, would serve to provide more money investment.

The most dangerous weakness is the continued reluctance in the trial world to invest.

In this country, investment has declining for years.

This has brought Germany on par with the other industrial nations.

Yet everybody knows that low ment is the main reason for the economy's problems — low growth high unemployment.

At the same time, there is a danger that rising unemployment be taken as an excuse for protectionist measures and higher subsidies.

Fortunately, there are some signs improvement.

In its latest monthly report, the desbank speaks of a "silver lining" on the stock exchange, while pinning its hopes on a new government in Bonn.

Another major positive aspect is development of the balance of ments and the inflation rate, which obviously passed its peak.

Major framework conditions for dustry have improved, particularly stabilisation of production costs.

Fiscal policy makers are realising that social security payments must be cut back if investment is boosted.

Ailing public sector finances undergo surgery to put them on a footing. Many of the lavish benefits the past decades should be This does not mean that this is the way of implementing Lambsdorff "market economy manifesto." But change must be made if things improve.

There are plenty of possible ways means of defusing the crisis and ing about a cure. But all steps in that rection should start at home.

Bonn has the double chance of a beginning and of a relatively still economy. It would therefore be more disappointing if this chance not used.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 26 September

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BUSINESS

Era of the disappearing entrepreneur

small businessman is becoming in Germany. People are less to take the risks involved than

small and medium sized businesses an essential part of the market. As Frankfurt banker Philipp von once said, they are "the yeast keeps the market processes ing."

the past 20 years one in four encurs has either been forced out business or voluntarily thrown in the And too few are taking their

1961 there were 3.3m self em. In 1981 there were only 2.4m. proportion of the working population entrepreneurs declined over the period from 13 per cent to barely cent.

the trend continued at this rate, would be only 1.5m self employed year 2000 and none by 2034.

however, that is not likely. It is sharp moment because of contraction in sector. This is now at an

according to an Allensbach opinion 17 per cent of the employed population was interested in taking the into business in 1962. By 1976, was down to seven per cent. there was a slight rise in the of 1980, experts do not regard a turning point.

politicians, economists and the business community regard the general as a major economic and social

Pieroth, Economic Affairs Senator in Berlin and himself an entrepreneur years ago said that there were too entrepreneurs for the needs of the economy-governed social state.

fact that neighbouring countries better off in this respect is not of a consolation.

few examples: The proportion of employed to the total working population dropped from 22 per cent in to 17 per cent in 1980 in France from 16.4 to 10.4 per cent in Holland. Even in America, it dropped from to 6.8 per cent during the same

are many reasons. Many who out of business were victims of the in economic structure and the concentration process in industry and commerce.

example, the corner grocer could compete with the supermarket.

general economic conditions don't going into business: energy and materials are scarce and expensive. are among the highest in the and the average business profits turnover (before income and corporation taxes) dropped from 4.6 per cent in to 3 per cent in 1981.

business decisions are hampered by a of laws and regulations.

Professor Herbert Giersch, president Institute for the World Economy Kiel, once put it: "Many of the foreigners who run businesses here would never have taken the plunge had they been able to read the German rules and regulations."

The state of the economy and the tide of bankruptcies are not exactly encouraging.

A few figures: In 1960, there were 2,700 bankruptcies. In 1980, there were more than 9,000. In the first six months this year 7,500 businesses had to throw in the towel.

The most important reason for the dwindling number of entrepreneurs, however, is the change in attitude towards work and leisure time. The employed working population is becoming more like civil servants.

In deciding whether to go into business or not, they have to weigh factors that Professor Norbert Szyperski of Cologne University's Seminar on Planning puts this way: On the one hand there is freedom of decision and action, the implementation of personal ideas and independence — the price of which is a high degree of risk and hard work. Many consider this price too high.

On the other hand, there is a good income, much leisure time and an extensive social security net. Who would exchange this for all the sweat and tears of running a business? Clearly, only those with a strong drive for independence.

Naturally, this reluctance to go into business does not apply to all sectors in equal measure. But the golden years of the Grundigs and Krupps, Flicks and Siemens are over.

The first year when again more companies were entered into the Companies Register than were deleted was 1977. Last year, the number of new companies (52,000) declined again, but it still exceeded the number of those going out of business by 30,000.

The sector that offers some hope is the service industry. According to the Federal Statistical Office, there was a rise of 15 per cent to 750,000 independent businesses over the past 20 years, making this the strongest bastion of the self-employed.

The danger to the economy in the long run lies in the fact that virtually none of the newly established businesses are innovative. New technologies or pioneering inventions as entrepreneurial springboards are rarities.

The least inclination to go into business can be found among those groups that could have provided decisive impulses for technical innovation, i.e. engineers, concludes the Cologne University Seminar on Planning.

Last year, Bonn Research Minister Andreas von Bülow said: "We must provide incentives for technology-oriented entrepreneurs because it is here that our chances lie — especially in times of rising unemployment — to provide new jobs and impulses for a broad application of new technologies."

His Ministry is working on attempts to revive this type of entrepreneurial spirit, and DM8m has been set aside for this purpose in the Ministry's 1983 budget.

At the latest by the beginning of next year the Ministry intends to present a plan that will provide incentives in the form of financial assistance — through tax relief, favourable credit terms or non-repayable subsidies.

Most new entrepreneurs regard financing as their biggest obstacle.

According to the Bonn Institute for Research into Small and Medium Sized Businesses, 50 per cent of new entrepreneurs need starting capital of more than DM60,000, 20 per cent need more than DM150,000 and only 17 per cent can manage on less than DM30,000.

Insolvencies in Fed Rep Germany

First quarter figures

1979	1980	1981	1982
1472	1561	1936	2838

The many public sector credit facilities aimed at helping a business have one major disadvantage: too few people know about them.

The same applies to the counselling services provided by the various chambers of commerce and similar organisations.

The fact that one in two new entrepreneurs has to give up in the first five years shows that there is a need for much more sound information.

More thorough and expert preparation could have saved quite a few of these new businessmen.

In view of unemployment problems, it must also be remembered that a sound policy aimed at promoting small and medium sized businesses is also a sound employment policy. After all, this type of business employs more than two-thirds of the total work force.

Heike Braun

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 24 September 1982)

The bank that gives its money away

A bank in Bochum, North Rhine-Westphalia, has a lending policy that defies most economic principles. The GLS, Gemeinschaft für Leihen und Schenken (Community Bank for Lending and Giving) does not try to earn either itself or its members profit, say the bank.

It does not lend because a would-be borrower would be a good risk. Loans must be used for what the bank calls "socially desirable" projects.

The GLS is managed be members of the Anthroposophical Society, followers of the spiritualistic doctrine of Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925).

It has 3,500 depositors with a total of DM40m, and a lending capacity of DM32m.

GLS manager Walter Burkart says projects must be unselfish, cooperative and communal.

For example: the GLS backs the Sophienlust farm in Schleswig-Holstein. To enable farmer Christof Klemmer to buy the farm, it provided an interest-free credit of DM1.4m for an indefinite term.

Klemmer founded an agricultural commune with 80 members which now farms the land without artificial fertilisers and pesticides.

The bank requires no collateral. Potential borrowers are simply interviewed to find out what sort of people they are; but large sums are usually lent only to borrower-communities.

The rule here is that every member of the community can borrow up to DM3,000. This naturally means that any group that needs money to make a major investment like buying a farm would have to be fairly large.

GLS now backs 88 Waldorf schools, 56 agricultural projects, 56 teaching and therapeutic institutions, Waldorf kindergartens, youth projects, training facilities and old people's homes: some 400 projects all told.

The bank's guidelines don't come from a banking manual but from the teaching of Rudolf Steiner who said: "The good of a community of people working together is the greater the less the individual lays claim to the proceeds of his work, i. e., the more of these proceeds he turns over to his fellow man and the more he satisfies his own needs from the work of others rather than his own."

So the bank promotes primarily projects in which many people live and work together, putting their incomes into one pot from which everybody takes as much as he believes he needs.

Private ownership of means of production has been eliminated. Thus, for instance, the Sophienlust farm belongs to all of the 80 people who live and work on it.

Naturally, the money the GLS uses must come from somewhere — even if the bank is not interested in making a profit.

The 3,500 depositors can choose whether they want to draw regular interest on their money or X per cent less than regular or no interest at all.

They must be pretty convinced anthroposophists to go along with such an arrangement; 700 of the depositors have opted for the "no interest" arrangement.

Burkart: "Most of those who go to Kalkar or Brokdorf to demonstrate against the nuclear power stations there have savings or checking accounts in regular banks. And while they demonstrate, their banks use their money to finance these projects."

This is quite an extreme example; but not convincing enough to persuade one to take one's money from a regular bank and put it in a GLS account. The balance sheet of this bank shows that it has itself invested more than DM12m with other banks and what those banks finance with that money those banks finance with that money are certainly not no-elbow cases.

Even the GLS cannot exist as an island in the banking system.

What Burkart would like best is for people not to invest their money with his bank but to use it to back initiatives with direct credits. As he puts it, the ultimate goal of his bank is to become superfluous.

Dietmar Hawranek

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 September 1982)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Working out a future for the past that lies in a cellar: filed Nazi records

DIE ZEIT

Yard after yard of filing cabinets full of Nazi records is stored in a cellar in Zehlendorf, a Berlin suburb in the American sector of the divided city.

The cellar used to be an SS phone-tapping centre, but for over 30 years it has housed the records of the tappers and the tapped.

They include two almost complete sets of records of Nazi party members, including handwritten membership application forms, so no-one can say he never knew he was a member.

The 10.7 million membership cards were found by the US Army at the end of the war in a paper mill near Munich, where the party planned to destroy them.

They include about 600,000 SS personnel files, accounting for roughly 60 per cent of SS membership, and 500,000 SA membership files.

Then there are 100,000 files of the *Volksgerichtshof*, the People's Court of Roland Freisler, the hanging judge, and the arbitration tribunal of the Nazi party.

There were 1.5 million files of party correspondence, 2.5 million file cards amassed by the immigration centre for *Auslandsdeutsche*, or ethnic Germans from beyond the borders of the Reich.

There are 500,000 files of the *Reichskulturkammer*, the Nazi organisation that ran the arts in the Third Reich, and neat rows of documents relating to all manner of other Third Reich organisations.

They include files neatly lettered along the spine with names such as *Lebensborn*, National Socialist gold badge of honour, National Socialist senior members' league and *Reichswerke Hermann Göring*.

The document centre is run by the US State Department, and strict rules govern who is given access and what they are allowed to read.

Information or copies of records are supplied only to courts, government authorities in friendly countries and historians.

In the early post-war years the files were used mainly for trials of war criminals and denazification proceedings.

Nowadays they are used mainly to process applications by German nationals for compensation for property forfeited in the East.

Before long the files will in their entirety be of no more than historic interest.

For years negotiations have been held with a view to transferring custody of the records to German authorities, but in Berlin many things are more complicated than elsewhere, so it all takes time.

In autumn 1979 Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart Baum said the document centre would be taken over by German authorities by 1981 at the latest.

The Foreign Office, the Interior Ministry, the Federal Archives and US authorities were agreed in principle that the files were to be handed over to the Berlin unit of the *Bundesverwaltungsamt*, a Bonn government administrative agency.

The points at issue were who was to be allowed to consult the files and in what connection. Who should be entitled to consult Nazi, SS and SA records and how were the rights of Nazi party members who were still alive to be protected?

Agreement has since been reached on these points. The agreement on the transfer of custody, including regulations governing use of the facility, is ready to be signed.

There is even an entry in the Bonn budget for the administrative costs of running the Nazi document centre. But the USA has yet to sign on the dotted line.

There are said to be technical and legal problems still outstanding. The technical problems probably amount to the fact that the Americans first want to microfilm the roughly 30 million files.

They have been working on this for years but have still only microfilmed about half the contents of the cellar.

No-one seems sure what the legal problems are. Someone or other in Washington is still not entirely happy about some turn of phrase or other in the regulations governing use of the facilities.

The going has been just as slow on the hand-over of the former *Kammergericht*, or superior court of justice, also in the US sector.

West Berlin Senate has been negotiating for the return of this building, which served as the headquarters of the Allied Control Council after the war.

480 empty rooms

West Berlin's *Kammergericht* is housed in cramped quarters in the former *Reichskriegsgericht*, or court martial, and a number of other buildings.

There were plans to build a new courthouse, but they were shelved as long as there were hopes the Allies might vacate the Control Council building.

The Control Council has not met since Marshal Shokolovski declared a session adjourned on 20 March 1948, while the Allied Travel Office, which used to be housed in the same building, has moved.

The Allied air safety centre is the only department that still uses it. It operates in 20 rooms, leaving the other 480 empty.

In summer 1979 the Four Powers said they were prepared to move the air safety centre, which supervises air traffic over Berlin, and hand over the building to the German authorities.

The only outstanding problems, it was said, were minor details in respect of the replacement building. They are a problem.

Buildings have been inspected, shortlisted and new buildings cons ed. Whatever suggestions were the Allies always raised some obj or other.

The latest idea is that of build new air safety centre in the Kleis next door to the Control Council ing, as it were.

This would seem to indicate th tus issues are involved, and no-o prepared to risk suggesting that th est idea will finally make the grade Soviet attitude is unpredictable.

It cannot be long before the Allie safety centre is the only Four-Powe stitution to have survived the pos period.

Air traffic in the corridors to from Berlin is still recorded on sp forms that are relayed to the Russ The Soviet authorities accept dom flights but express reservations foreign flights because, they say, th corridors are not suited for them.

Soldiers of the Four Powers see get on better together in chess and tennis tournaments, but the paper is in any case mere routine.

There have been no incidents for cades. Radar in Tegel, Tempelhof Schönefeld, the city's three airp makes the Allied facility virtually su fluous.

It could have been scrapped ago, but the Four Powers are kee keep this vestige of Allied rule goin

The Spandau jail for war crimina still in operation. It could house prisoners but its only inmate is Ru Hess, who is now 88.

The Führer's former deputy has interned in Spandau since July 194 was given a life sentence at Nurem and has been on his own since Sep ber 1966.

His last fellow-inmates were A Speer and Baldur von Schirach, an has outlived them both.

The jail has four governors monthly rotation each of the Powers sends in an officer and 37 to guard a sick old man.

Spandau costs the German taxp an estimated DM2m a year.

The Western powers have state more than one occasion that they w be prepared to give Hess a reprieve they aren't going to do so unless th viet Union agrees.

Soviet ambassador Pyotr Abras has stressed that Hess must stay in son for ever because he has show sign of regret.

The Western powers could in th release Hess regardless of the S view when they happened to b charge at Spandau, but they are u ly to do so.

So for reasons of status 36,000 metres of building will be maintain keep one man in prison until his day.

Cynics say the man who is prisoned there has long been a de kept there to ensure that an Allied lity is kept going.

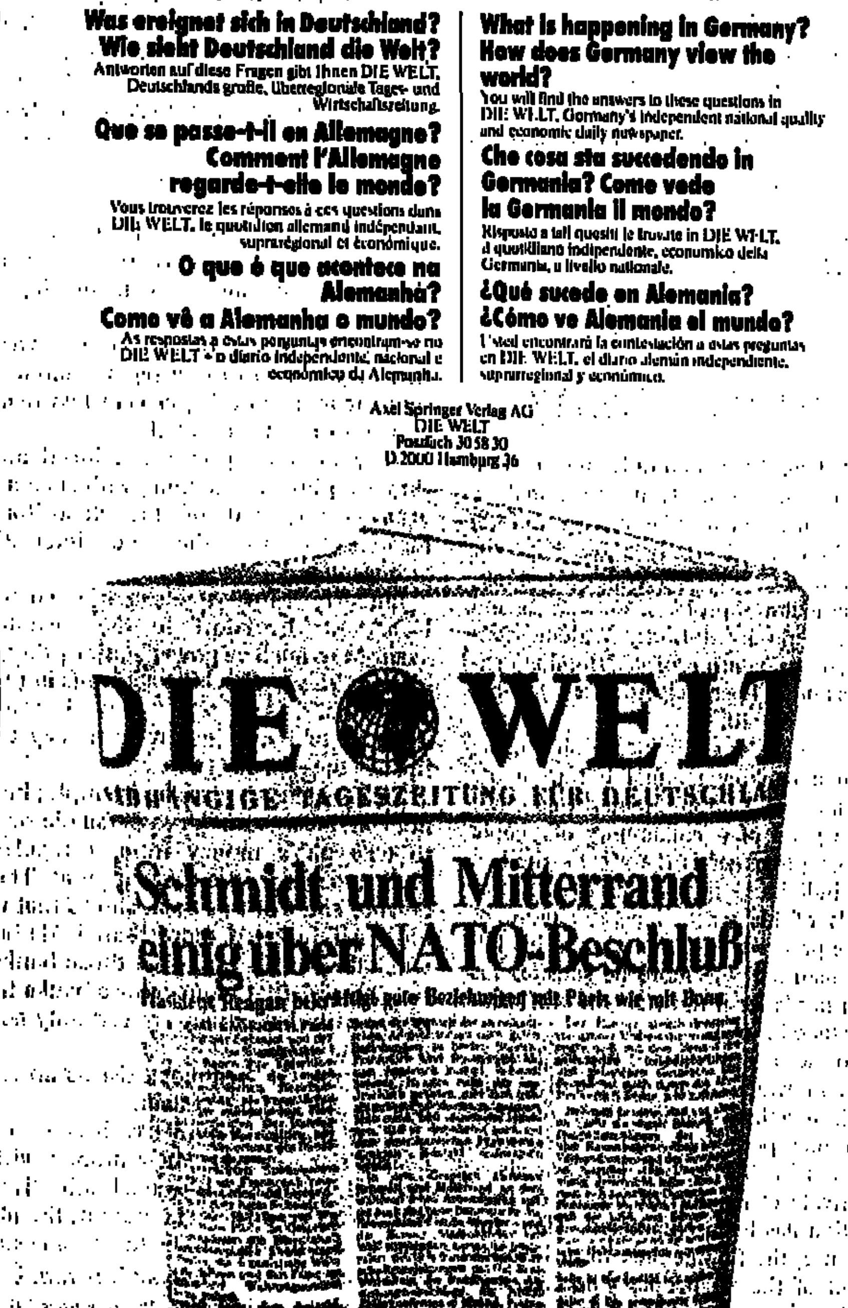
When Hess dies the Allied agre on punishing major war criminals die with him and Spandau jail co handed back to the German autho

It could, in theory, be used to i son German jailbirds of the more ventional kind. But it is no longer satisfactory as a prison.

Prison buildings grow outdated than court buildings, or so it seem.

Joachim Nawro

(Die Zeit, 17 Septemb



MOTORING

Daimler-Benz stakes its claim in Asia

DIE ZEIT

aimler-Benz has consolidated its base in Indonesia by moving its as- ly plant in Djakarta.

he new works, at Wanaherang, will able between 3,000 and 4,000 s and a few hundred cars a year, ying 1,300. The company says it is only non-Japanese motor vehicle in the country.

hopes that eventually, by more y establishing itself in Indonesia, it le in a good position to export to Asian countries, including China.

e assembly plant until now was in ity's port area. That site, used by ompany for 10 years, has been sold profit.

he new works cost roughly DM30m, d which DEG, a Bonn govern- development agency, and an In- sian partner each contributed a

ercedes have decided to enter the s den, as it were, in a country e the Japanese are virtually in con- of the motor vehicles market.

panese cars and trucks predomi- on Indonesian roads, but Merce- ed have no fear of Japanese com- in in the car market. At their end e market Daimler-Benz and BMW largely on their own in South-East

t competition is fierce in commer- vehicles, and by being on the spot ler-Benz stand a better chance of ing caught on the hop in Indone- d similar countries.

ercedes salesmen in Indonesia are diately confronted with new Japa- trucks that are usually cheaper.

ck in Stuttgart the parent company aft a strategy long before Japan- mpetition in commercial vehicles s further headway and inroads in markets, such as the Middle East.

donesia, says Herr Prinz, is an eco- ic region with a future where a d basis needs establishing for the pany's products.

is a country of 150 million people t more million motor vehicles. In Federal Republic of Germany, h has a population of 60 million, are more than 20 times as many trucks and buses.

Gerhard Prinz, Werner Niefer and ard Liener felt it was well worth while flying to Indonesia, having a with President Suharto and hold- reception.

keeping with the customs of the try they welcomed guests wearing sleeved batik shirts.

ey also felt it was worth while as- ling Mercedes cars in Indonesia. esia does not allow Mercedes to ported and Daimler-Benz are keen their cars in the market to boost estige of Daimler-Benz trucks.

ore is at stake than the Indonesian et. The Asean countries Indonesia, and, Philippines, Malaysia and pore are felt to be the gateway to and China.

present Western companies can- do much business with the Chinese, n the long term Peking economic planners will probably want to buy Western technology.

It will then be too late to start from scratch. Companies will need to be at the ready in suitable locations where they have already gained a foothold.

The best way to prepare for the Chinese market, representatives of German companies in South-East Asia agree, is in the Asean countries.

Customers for industrial goods can already be found in Indonesia and Thailand, so production facilities and sales staff can be set up there.

Singapore as a trading and financial centre ensures the links needed to maintain contacts with company headquarters.

Daimler-Benz have fared well with long-term commitments in the past. At a time when oil prices were not heading sky-high the company built up a sales and service network for commercial vehicles in the Middle East.

For years it was hard work and didn't earn much in the way of profits. But when the oil boom made Middle Eastern countries rich Daimler-Benz deservedly had very good customers indeed.

Middle East orders were so substantial that Daimler-Benz, the leading European manufacturer of heavy trucks, was hardly affected by the recession in its traditional markets.

Daimler-Benz started assembling trucks in the port area of Djakarta 10 years ago.

The Indonesian government is keen to see investment by German companies. Industry Minister Soehoed hopes Daimler-Benz will bring with them to Indonesia the latest in technology.

"Finance," he says, "is not our problem. Industrial production know-how is the problem."

Trucks and buses are increasingly to be assembled from parts manufactured in Indonesia, while parts shipped from Germany will play a steadily less important role.

Japanese assembly works alone are not enough, he feels. "In modern technology the Germans are still streets ahead of the Japanese."

Legal provisions are increasingly obliging Daimler-Benz to look around for suitable local suppliers in Indonesia.

Difficulties are bound to arise, and the Minister is well aware that local suppliers are going to have to pull out all the stops to meet Daimler-Benz quality requirements.

But this pressure is intended. It will, he hopes, help to ensure that industrial standards in Indonesia slowly improve.

Professor Soehoed is keen on consistency. Growth rates have averaged five to six per cent in recent years, and that's how he wants them to stay.

Indonesia, an oil producer, has not aimed at two-figure growth rates, so now demand for oil is declining it faces fewer problems than other petroleum exporters.

He says there can be no question of Indonesia finding itself in the same position as, say, Mexico with gigantic projects in the pipeline and serious payments difficulties.

Daimler-Benz are likewise thinking in terms of slowly but surely increasing their presence in South-East Asia. Land has already been bought alongside the assembly works.

It is envisaged as the site of an engine production production facility.

The company is also investing in staff. A training centre has been set up in a suburb of Djakarta. In two years it will turn out 30 mechanics and 30 fitters.

The training centre is claimed to be the largest facility of its kind run by private enterprise in Indonesia. Daimler-Benz are certainly proud of what such efforts have enabled them to achieve.

Daimler-Benz trucks, buses and cars assembled in Indonesia largely comply with German quality standards. That is the only way in which they can hope to compete with the much cheaper Japanese models.

The number of local components used in Indonesian Daimler-Benz models is still so low that they are not much less expensive to manufacture than in Germany. So quality has to count, and quality controls tend to further increase the price.

German quality will never be fully achieved, it is conceded. So assembly works in Indonesia and Thailand build their right-hand drive Mercedes cars strictly for the local market.

Traffic drives on the left in Singapore too, but cars are imported to Singapore, so Daimler-Benz prefers to ship German-made Mercedes to the city-state.

Richard Gaul

(Die Zeit, 24 September 1982)

A new Mercedes feature, a security container for tools and spare parts. (Photo: Mercedes-Benz)

Better is on the way, but first it'll get worse

Motor manufacturers in the Federal Republic of Germany are expecting business to get worse before it gets better.

Manufacturers and suppliers will be working short time in the months ahead, although output should be up slightly and turnover up a little more over the year.

In the first eight months of 1982 the number of private cars manufactured in the country was 2.56 million, or 14 per cent more than from January to August 1981.

But the output of commercial vehicles was down six per cent to 199,100 units, largely due to a slump in production of transporters, or vans.

The momentum of export business has definitely declined over the past few weeks, whereas between January and August car exports were up 23 and commercial vehicle exports up four per cent in number.

Turnover totalled DM111bn in 1981, or 4.6 per cent more than in 1980.

Motor Manufacturers Association business manager Achim Diekmann told the annual general meeting in Baden-Baden that hopes lay in the future.

The domestic market for private cars had been in the doldrums for four years, he said, so the backlog of demand ought to come to a head sooner or later.

Domestic sales of commercial vehicles were likewise so low that a further decline was virtually impossible.

In its report for 1981/82 the association stressed the industry's contribution towards keeping the economy going by heavy investment and toward preventing any further deterioration in the job situation.

In 1981 the industry had made capital investments totalling DM8.2bn. It seemed sure to continue investing at a high level in the years ahead.

From 1982 to 1984 German motor manufacturers planned to invest nominally a third more in domestic production facilities than from 1979 to 1981.

They thus emphasised their constant endeavours to stay competitive and safeguard jobs. Their payroll had remained steady, numbering 788,577 at the end of June.

Against international competition they had more than held their own. In the home market car sales were down four per cent in 1981 and a further six per cent in the first half of 1982.

German manufacturers last year sold 2.6 per cent fewer cars at home. The share of the domestic market cornered by imported cars was down from 26.3 to 25.3 per cent last year.

In the first half of this year their share slumped further to 23.9 per cent, with Japanese imports at 8.9 per cent only a whisker ahead of the French, with 8.6 per cent.

German manufacturers have gained ground in most foreign markets over the past 18 months, whereas Japanese firms have lost ground nearly all over Europe.

Exchange-rate vagaries and an attractive product range enabled German motor manufacturers to increase their share of Common Market car sales from 33 to 35 per cent.

Werner Neitzel

(Die Welt, 25 September 1982)

PHOTOGRAPHY

New outlook on the cabbage leaf

Is it a stylised wave chiselled in stone? Is it a goddess's full head of hair, seen from the rear? Is it some gigantic shell?

No, it's just a close-up of a cabbage leaf photographed by Edward Weston, 1886-1958, an American, a photographer with an unerring inner eye for the unusual.

Weston is one of 18 fine photographers from seven countries whose work formed the nucleus of the Photography from 1922 to 1982 exhibition at this year's Photokina fair in Cologne.

It was one of three on show at the city's Kunsthalle, the others being the Dialogue of the Young Generation and the Newspaper Readers' Photographic Competition.

In an outstanding main catalogue Manfred Heiting, who was responsible for the selection, describes the exhibition as an attempt to present, arranged by topic, the basic directions and style elements of photographic art that have evolved over the 60 years.

Three generations of photography are shown not just as a historic succession but also as a history of the evolution of photographic vision.

In six departments of this international longitudinal section three photographers each are featured, and they are shown at three levels of reality; the invented, the unusual and the construction of reality. Photos are also shown under the headings Signs and Moments in Time, Women in Light and the Handwriting of Nature. These headings prove fruitful and flexible enough, especially as they are not intended as a narrow framework or liable to be misunderstood as one. The cabbage leaf mentioned above testifies to the unusual reality continually discovered and conjured by photographers. They include two other Americans, Ansel Adams, 80, and Frederick Sommer, 77. All three bear the imprint of the West, where they lived.

Their work invariably has more to say than what they show, in Adams' case a black and white Sand Hurdle, in Sommer's an Aluminium Foil that is felt to be plastic.

Otto Steinert, 1915-1978, of Germany is a good example of invented reality, especially in his early period; when he launched Subjective Photography and practised it to produce extremely interesting, artificially ambitious proof of his point, as for instance, in Strict Ballet, 1949.



Friederich Seidenstücker's 1925 photograph, 'Pfützenspringe-rin,' a woman jumping across a puddle in Berlin.

A stimulating contrast to Steinert's black and white asceticism is provided by the opulent flower arrangements in colour on textile materials photographed by Jean Batho, 43, of France.

Third in this category comes Walter A. Peterhans, 1897-1960, a surprising and imaginative former Bauhaus man, with the surprising technical versatility of his "applied photography."

An entirely different reality is presented under the heading Construction of Reality, as in the monumental industrial buildings reminiscent of Renger-Patzsch photographed by Charles Sheeler, 1883-1965, of America.

André Thijssen, 34, of Holland, deals with the subject in a much more abstract manner in spatially experienced constellations of contrasting colour surfaces.

Luigi Ghirri, 39, of Italy, on the other hand, frequently includes the natural, organic environment, as in his house walls in Ferrara, completely overgrown with ivy.

This brings us to the Handwriting of Nature, to which Eliot Porter of America has devoted a long life beginning in 1901. He was in Cologne to receive the arts award of the German Photography Association, as was Reinhart Wolf from Hamburg. Jean Dieuzaide, 61, of France deals with minute details, individual leaves, twists and turns of tree roots and bird feathers. In the work of Sadayoshu Shiotani, 83, of Japan, who combines his classical Japanese view of imagery [...] a Western approach to seeing, the ef[...] is the exact opposite of what it is [...] Ghirri.



Ansel Adams' 1942 photograph, 'The Tetons and Snake River,' in Wyoming, USA.

Whereas Ghirri with his ivy-[...] walls shows us human reality o[...] grown by nature, Shiotani construc[...]ly incorporates people and their ac[...]ties in his landscapes.

In his Fisherman's Net, for insta[...] we see the sea in a most unusual m[...]ner through the fine mesh of the net.

The abundance of perspectives [...] photography embraces as soon as [...] surroundings and the riches of wom[...] accessories are not excluded is m[...] manifest in Women in Light.

It ranges from the classical nudes [...] Paul Outerbridge jr, 1896-1958, of A[...]rica and the effectively clothed and [...] clothed women of Frantisek Dr[...] 1883-1961, of Czechoslovakia to [...] erotic escapades of Helmut New[...] born in Berlin in 1920.

Newton dares to unveil scurril[...] perverted men's daydreams in ph[...] such as Woman in Front of Mirror [...] Riding Whip, or Villa d'Este, Como.

Two Germans are featured under [...] heading Signs and Moments in Ti[...] Friedrich Seidenstücker, 1882-1966, [...] Timm Rautert, 41.

Seidenstücker was a sharp-eyed p[...]neer from Westphalia who always [...]ceeded in capturing the "frui[...] moment" of an occurrence, as i[...] 1925 photo of a Berlin woman jum[...] across a puddle.

Rautert, a student of Steinert's, is e[...]tremely sensitive to colour and cap[...] of documenting children's street ga[...] such as hopscotch, with unbeliev[...] life and movement.

Robert Frank, 58, who is known [...] his book about the average Ameri[...] confirms as a critic of civilisation his [...]putation for being an exact observe[...] both unobtrusive and revealing ev[...]day scenes.

In this partly historical, partly top[...] longitudinal section of 60 years of [...]tography Heiting succeeds in con[...]ing L. Fritz Gruber's 1980 Imagi[...] Museum, which itself was a succe[...] attempt to maintain the continuity [...] the Photokina fair.

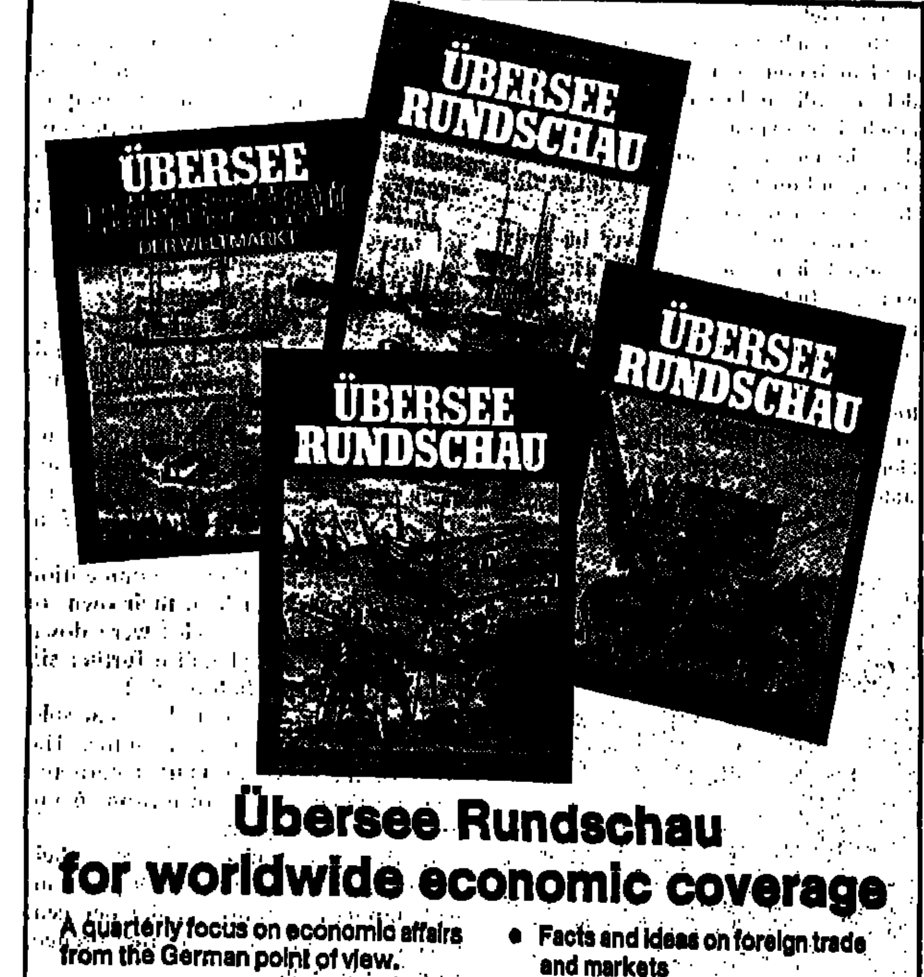
By the staircase of the Kunsthalle [...] lover of blow-up photos will see an [...]thetic and technical sensation, Faces [...] Buildings, by Reinhart Wolf.

He photographed New York skysc[...]pers using a king-sized camera that [...]veals the detail in absolutely exact [...]cus. The photos are printed in one p[...] on paper 1.80 by 2.90 metres in size.

Wolf's work opens up new techn[...] dimensions in giant photography.

Hannes Schmi[...]

(Kieler Nachrichten, 29 September 1[...])



THE CINEMA

Project aims to get children's films on the commercial circuit

[...]hirteen new films were shown at this year's international festival of [...]dren's films in Frankfurt.

[...]lucky 13, one was tempted to say, [...]iew of the situation of children's [...] and films for young people in the [...]ral Republic of Germany.

[...]w are likely to go out to the cinema [...]orks. A film must be seen by at [...]50,000 people to make distribution [...]able.

[...]hat is a number which can only be [...]hed over a long period and with a [...] advertising.

[...]s a result, films that were in some [...] heavily subsidised are shelved be[...] distributors are unable or unwill[...] to put them out to the cinemas.

[...]he children are the losers. They end [...]ued to the TV screen. "Children's [...] in Germany are screened on [...]" says the head of family program[...] at Bayerischer Rundfunk in Mu[...]. "Otherwise they just don't [...]"

[...]rly this year a children's film pro[...]tion scheme was launched in North [...]-Westphalia. Eight films were to [...]hown in 10 cinemas, from Cologne [...] Oberhausen, over a three-month [...]od.

[...]he scheme is a pilot project and was [...]ertaken with the aid of a DM50,000 [...] from film promotion funds.

[...]e of the eight, *Tollwut* by Ilse Hof[...], was the German entry at the [...]nkfurt festival. It telles the tale of [...] and Micki, 13-year-olds who live [...] door to each other.

[...]he two boys are close friends but [...] friendship is progressively des[...]ed by increasingly serious differen[...] between their families.

[...]he film has features typical of most [...] films shown in Frankfurt. Entries [...] 10 countries dealt almost all with [...]yday problems.

[...]ey included the problems of being [...] outsider, of differences in social [...]ground and of first love.

[...]t the two most interesting and un[...]anding entries went further. Both, [...] Norwegian and an Israeli film, dealt [...] a post-war situation.

[...] Vibeke Lokkeberg's *Der Verrat* [...]man title: Betrayal) we are shown [...]-war Bergen, Norway, in 1948.

[...]he adults are busy setting aside their [...] and starting life afresh. Children, [...] their constant inquisitiveness and [...]sistence, tend to get in the way.

[...]e betrayal to which the title refers [...] betrayal of children by their [...]nts. We are told, in detail and wi[...] polemics, the tale of Camilla and [...], both 7.

[...]y suffer from the separation of [...] parents, from the arrogant beha[...] of the US occupation forces and [...]he local authority welfare depart[...].

[...]n unruly period their mutual [...]ship gives them a feeling of bal[...] and support.

[...] film explores children's express[...]tures and mimicry. It does so [...]fully that it makes a much more [...] impression on the mind than [...] more educational entries.

[...] *Wunderwaffe* (German title: [...] Wonder Weapon) is set in Israel [...]50, not long after the war of libera[...]. It deals with streetfighting bet[...] two gangs of children.

The fighting is tough and inexorable, the boys having been taught by teachers and parents that courage, will to win and military discipline are the highest qualities.

There is no room for sentiment in this adult world. The gentle power of the family is a mere facade behind which Yoni's father thrashes his son with a leather belt.

The boy eventually seeks refuge by the sea with a woman who went mad in a German concentration camp. He felt he had to make a getaway after seriously injuring another boy.

She takes him seriously in her own way and doesn't promptly punish him. Ilan Moshenson, the director, has some very poetic and concentrated sequences that make the film worth seeing for adults too.

A most impressive Icelandic entry was a newcomer in Frankfurt, although Thorstein Jonsson's *Punkt, Punkt, Komma, Strich* (German title: Stop, Stop, Comma, Dash) was seen last year at the Scandinavian film festival in Lübeck.

It is a comedy about six-year-old twins, Jon and Jan, who are so frank that they force their surroundings to nail colours to the mast.

The entire idea is most imaginative, and the episode in which we are told the tale of Selma, a mongoloid girl next door, is a most sensitive contribution to the subject of the handicapped.

It differs from the Spanish film *Malapata* (meaning Idiot), which tells the tale of a boy with a hare lip who is made fun of by everyone, in showing that children are not by nature cruel to the handicapped.

They are educated into being cruel toward them.

There were a number of disappointments alongside such pleasant discoveries at the Frankfurt festival. Entries from Czechoslovakia, the Hollywood of children's films, were boring.

The GDR entry, *Die dicke Tilla* (Fat Tilla), likewise sounded a note of routine and lack of imagination. It seemed more likely to strengthen prejudice against the fat than to foster understanding for outsiders.

An obvious shortcoming of most entries was their length. They all ran for an hour and a half or more, and after three quarters of an hour at most the juvenile audience began to grow restive.

The children paid little or no more attention to the dialogues and less and less attention to the photographic sequences.

Hark Bohm's *Ich kann auch 'ne Arche bauen* (I Can Build An Ark Too) and Horst Schwaab's *Kohlen für die Naunystrasse* (Coal for Naunystrasse) told an entirely different tale.

They were screened as part of a retrospective entitled German Children's Films from 1944 to 1973 and concentrated on visual aspects; Schwaab's film was a silent film.

They were shorter and better suited to a juvenile audience than many newer and much more professionally produced films.

Yet the festival showed nonetheless that interesting children's films are still being made all over the world.

Film promotion measures ought to be aimed with urgency at ensuring they are shown in cinemas and not instalment by instalment on TV, especially as taking children to the matinée show would then be more interesting for adults too.

Children's films as screened in Frankfurt are family films. The much-vaunted dialogue with young people might arguably be prompted by a visit to the cinema.

Oliver Tolmein

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 September 1982)

Actress Lena Stolze steps into shoes of Nazi victim

Forty years ago a small group of students got together in Munich to distribute leaflets calling for resistance to Hitler.

They included brother and sister Hans and Sophie Scholl and styled themselves the White Rose.

They were arrested within a matter of months, accused of high treason and sentenced to death. Hans and Sophie Scholl were executed on 23 February 1943.

The sentences passed on members of the White Rose group have, incidentally, to this day not been repealed.

Two German directors, working independently of each other, have made films on the subject. In both films Sophie Scholl is played by Lena Stolze.

She not only bears a striking resemblance to Sophie Scholl, but she plays her part so convincingly that many will feel she could well be Sophie Scholl in person, returned from the dead to act out the crucial scenes in her short life.

Michael Verhoeven's film, *Die Weisse Rose* (The White Rose), and Percy Adlon's *Fünf letzte Tage* (Five Last Days) deal with the subject so differently that they complement each other ideally.

Verhoeven gives us a straightforward tale of the five students who try, at a grim period in German history, to mobilise the last forces of good.

Motivated by idealism and profoundly felt Christian belief, they take arms against the advance of violence and oppression.

It is much to Verhoeven's credit that he does not portray everyday life under the Nazis as a Kaleidoscope of horrors. The perverted nature of the Nazi system comes to light in minor details.

We sense it in a sardonic smile or a voice that appeals to Sophie in seductive, gentle tones.

Verhoeven's student resistance workers are not heroes in the accepted sense of the term either. They don't talk blandly of courage and plunge headlong and without hesitation into a kamikaze project.

They are ordinary youngsters with an ordinary sense of fun. They are nature-lovers, music-lovers and above all are lovers of life.

But they want to live in a world free of dictatorial compulsions. Verhoeven does, however, exaggerate his bid to make young fighters of 1942/43 seem like modern youngsters.

He is not entirely successful in his attempt to make them appear timeless, young people such as might be found in Munich's student areas today.

Percy Adlon gives the subject an entirely different treatment. Instead of showing us their phase of active resistance he deals with the last five days leading up to Sophie Scholl's execution.

In prison she makes the acquaintance of Else Gebel, with whom she strikes up an immediate friendship. As the two girls talk, the resistance work of the While Rose group again takes shape.

Else Gebel begins increasingly to feel that Sophie's destiny is her own. We are told the touching tale of a human relationship in the shadow of death.

A year ago in his Proust film *Céleste* Adlon proved himself a master of intimate screen drama. In his latest film the drama heightens slowly but surely.

He too doesn't portray the Nazis as monsters or make out Sophie and her friends to be supermen.

But as in Verhoeven's version, sparing means are deployed to paint a gripping picture of young people from whom today's youngsters could learn a thing or two.

Verhoeven and Adlon have both successfully brought home to a contemporary public a phenomenon that threatened to vanish into the oblivion of history textbooks.

One can but wish as many young people as possible, and older people too, of course, will see both films when they are screened at their local cinemas.

M. v. Schwarzkopf

(Die Welt, 28 September 1982)

From Michael Verhoeven's 'Die Weisse Rose': Hans and Sophie Scholl, played by Wulf Kessler and Lena Stolze. (Photo: Filmverlag der Autoren)

■ MUSIC

Tickling the ivories in the drawing rooms of suburbia...no more

Whatever happened to the piano? It was the only musical instrument, apart from modern electronic obscenities, that ever did achieve bourgeois respectability.

As part of the accepted furniture in a middle-class home it was a focal point of bourgeois musical culture.

Nowadays it seems to have been downgraded to the level of a somewhat faded and scurrilous vestige of an era long gone.

Whoever would think these days of having an ordinary person in a film or TV crime serial episode sit down at home and play the piano for pleasure?

If a piano is featured, it is sure to be a grand piano, and its part as a film property is strictly limited to a handful of roles.

It may be screened for emotional effect, like a thunderstorm, or it will be included either to help someone seduce an unspoilt girl or to console a grass widow (while he is away on business she is alone with Rachmaninov and the servants).

> **❛Outstanding children musically . . . ran away to lives of political extremism❜**

The facts and figures tell a different tale. Last year 36,475 pianos and 3,520 grand pianos were sold in the Federal Republic of Germany.

More than two out of three were imported. The totals were eight and four per cent down on 1980, and this year sales are likely to be down again.

Yet they were on an impressive increase until two years ago. "Music at home is back in full flower," a manufacturer's brochure put it. "People are beginning to recall the traditional values of harmonious family life and play the piano more."

This blurb is from a brochure by Schimmel of Brunswick, the largest manufacturers of pianos in Western Europe.

But it must be borne in mind that before the First World War the German piano industry, consisting of countless small manufacturers, made up to 60,000 pianos a year.

Prices were high even in those days. A small piano from Russia, China or Korea cost under 4,000 marks. Japanese pianos cost from 6,000 marks upwards.

Brand-name German pianos cost at least 7,000 marks, and grands sold at prices ranging from about 12,000 to over 100,000 marks.

A schoolteacher had to work seven months to earn the price of a piano. He now has to work only two and a half months to earn the corresponding amount.

So the price is no more the main consideration than it used to be a couple of generations ago. In recent years the trend toward small upright pianos has lost momentum.

The best-selling Schimmel pianos cost between DM8,500 and DM10,000. The first and only manufacturer who tried, a few years ago, to use plastic instead of expensive wood has gone to the wall.

A glance at the manufacturing process is enough to see that many qualities of craftsmanship are indispensable and can be neither automated nor rationalised.

Many glued fine wood parts, for example, have to be matured and acclimatised for weeks before they can be put into position.

So up to nine months elapse from the time a manufacturer takes delivery of the first material to the date when he can supply the finished product.

Only leading manufacturers still make their own keys, and the white keys are only finished in ivory to special order. Normally the ivories are made of plastic, which has the advantage that they don't turn yellow.

The complicated mechanics is manufactured for the most part by a company in the Black Forest. It is an established trade witticism that if a fire ever guts the factory the entire industry will nave to down tools, at least in Europe.

Pianomakers can be seen to have a special relationship with their product. Many are taught to play the piano by their company.

Not only the traditionally blind piano tuner and the king of craft workers, the factory tuner who puts the piano through its paces in a soundproof room, are artists.

Sensational new developments such as the invention of pedals by Steinway in 1819 are unlikely to occur in a hurry. The piano has evolved slowly over the centuries.

But the list of optional extras that are now available, ranging from gilt ornaments to candelabras, reminds one of motor manufacturers' catalogues.

Quality of performance, workmanship and the manufacturer's reputation have been joined by extraneous criteria in the minds of some potential customers.

Dealers have been asked if they could send a specialist round to advise would-be clients with wonderful period furniture. Could they possibly supply a matching piano?

Then there is the tale of the well-to-do Romany who ordered a grand piano specially designed to fit his caravan.

In one respect piano salesmen have an easier time of it these days, especially if they have to do the manhandling themselves.

> **❛Playing for visitors often a punishment for both players and the listeners❜**

Pianos used to weigh between six and eight hundredweight. Nowadays an upright may weigh 150kg, while even a concert grand at 350kg is easily handled by three to four removal men.

The main reason is that the cast iron frame has been reduced in size with no loss of sound or stability.

A fair number of pianos are moved around when people remove or instruments are bequeathed to new owners. They usually cost between DM300 and DM400 to shift.

But why bother? Who plays the piano? The Association of Music Schools, comprising 659 firms, says its members teach 89,274 people to play.

If one adds schools that are not in membership and bears private lessons in mind, an estimated 120,000 young people may be assumed to be learning to play the piano.

What does this figure mean? Well, fluctuation is higher than it used to be in the days when parents insisted on children keeping up with their piano lessons even when enthusiasm flagged.

There has been an unmistakable trend away from individual lessons at home or at the teacher's and toward instruction at specially equipped schools of music.

Modern educational methods now make it possible to teach beginners in twos and threes for the first two years. Teachers say this makes learners feel more like competing with each other.

A whisker under half the entrants to this year's national youth music contest came from music schools rather than private teachers.

No-one knows how many piano teachers there are. They include university dons, music school teachers (who are paid a little less than primary school teachers), private teachers and music students.

Their fees vary between DM15 and DM50 an hour, or DM60 to DM200 a month for a lesson a week. The little old lady teacher is the exception nowadays.

Besides, it would be wrong to poke fun at little old ladies. In their time, at the turn of the century, they were courageous fighters for women's rights.

Arguments still rage over technique, although there are no longer two strongly opposed schools of thought, as there were at the turn of the century.

In those days the professional journal, *Der Clavier-Lehrer*, published an endless series of readers' letters on whether the finger technique or the weight technique was better.

The constant exhortation of old to keep those knuckles up is as indelibly marked in the minds of older students as the commands barked by the RSM on the parade ground.

Knuckles up is no longer regarded as the yardstick of learning to play properly. Nor is playing an entire Clementi sonata with a coin balanced on the back of one's hand.

Loosen up arms and hands is the rule, but otherwise students are left very much to choose for themselves the technique that suits them best.

Dogmatic theories would be unlikely to carry much conviction nowadays when any 10-year-old can see on TV how Vladimir Horowitz plays the piano with his hands almost flat and his fingertips almost bent upward yet without his brilliant technique being the loser.

But views still differ as to whether and to what extent the way the keys are hit affects the tone rather than the volume.

This issue was debated at length by the 1981 congress of the German section of the European Piano Teachers' Association.

Yet as long ago as in 1906 Max Planck, then a young physics professor, was called in to give an expert opinion. Did it make any difference? Probably not, he said.

On the whole the piano has declined in importance for music teachers. As a rule they must all be able to play, but the days are over when the pian[o] regarded as of overwhelming im[port]ance.

In days gone by a Leipzig piano [ma]nufacturer advertised a patent des[k pia]no as the universal teaching aid. N[owa]days progressive music teachers [are] keen on do-it-yourself music and in[stru]ments.

Many teachers regard the piano [as a] vestige of bourgeois culture. But [is it] really so elitist, hostile to groups an[d re]trograde as it is sometimes made o[ut to] be?

The facts tell a different tale. Pol[ls in]dicate that there must be about a [mil]lion and a half pianos in West Ger[man] homes.

Fifty per cent are played regula[rly,] seven per cent never. This is an en[cou]raging figure when seen alongside [the] one in three of 1.2 million violins th[at are] never played.

But both figures arguably over[state] the case, there being fewer oppor[tuni]ties to play the piano than there us[ed to] be.

Girls were taught to play the pia[no a] generation or two ago so that [they] could demonstrate their prowess [in] public.

Playing the piano for visitors wa[s of]ten a punishment for both players [and] listeners and is now felt to be gene[rally] bad.

The wife who constantly puni[shed] friends and relations with her rende[ring] of Hugo Wolf *lieder*, accompanied [on] the piano by her husband, virtually [be]came a figure of fun.

The writer knows a family who [used] to make up an outstanding musical [en]semble that performed at every op[por]tunity, but it came apart at the s[eams] when the children all left home [and] went in for political extremism inst[ead.]

> **❛The optional extras range from gilt ornaments to candelabra❜**

Yet playing the piano in public w[as a] splending opportunity of demonstr[ating] prowess, testing oneself and b[eing] praised (even though some of the pr[aise] may have been hypocritical).

Nowadays parents seldom even [take] the trouble of listening to their chil[dren] as they practise.

A further handicap both for talen[ted] youngsters and for adults who wo[uld] like to be able to play is the discou[rag]ing perfection of many young pia[nists] from the Soviet Union, Hung[ary,] France, America and, of late, Germ[any] again.

This perfection can be heard on [re]cord or tape whenever one feels so [in]clined, which can be both an ind[uce]ment and a discouragement.

Music schools offer an alternativ[e to] the electronic bedlam of a room [of] one's own. Duos and quartets can [get] together that are virtually ruled o[ut in] private homes because families are [no] longer large enough.

Older people ought to be encour[aged] to play more too, even if it is only [the] Moonlight Sonata. The courts [have] ruled that the piano may be regu[larly] played in apartments with thin [walls] and that neighbours have no caus[e for] complaint.

Those who really are no longer [in a] position to play ought at least to ad[ver]tise the piano they cannot use. Put it [up] for sale. Good second-hand pianos [are] scarce and in demand.

Joachim Nean[der]

(Die Welt, 18 Septembe[r 1982])

RESEARCH

[D]isappointment over genetic engineering

[G]enetic engineering has not lived up [t]o expectations, a Munich bio[chem]ist told a scientific society at its [ge]neral meeting in Mannheim.

[Th]e miracle drugs it was expected to [produ]ce had yet to sell over the phar[macis]t's counter and drug manufactu[rers] had not made the bumper profits [they] were hoping for.

[Inst]ead, problems had arisen that no[-one] was expecting two or three years [ago]. But the frenzy of the debate on the [bene]fits and drawbacks of genetic engi[neer]ing had subsided somewhat.

[So] the time had come for an interim [revie]w of the situation, said Professor [Hans] Hofschneider of the Max Planck [Bioch]emistry Institute in Martinsried, [nea]r Munich.

[He] was addressing the 112th general [meet]ing of the Association of German [Nat]ural Scientists and Doctors in [Mann]heim.

[As] a biochemist and geneticist he was [not] surprised that genetic engineering [had] failed to advance by the leaps and [boun]ds of its early promise.

[The]re was many a slip between initial [labora]tory success and large-scale in[dustr]ial feasibility, and more could hap[pen th]an mere technical hitches.

[The]re could be no doubt that it was [p]ossible to feed extraneous genetic [infor]mation to bacteria and make the [micr]o-organisms produce substances [they] did not need for their own metabo[lism].

[Th]is seemed relatively straightfor[war]d compared with the biochemical [pur]ification of the substances produced [by me]ans of genetic engineering.

[Ne]w products had to pass pharmaco[logic]al and clinical tests before they [wer]e approved by the Federal Health [Offi]ce in Berlin.

[Eve]n human insulin from the bacteria [the]y cannot be marketed without fur[ther] ado as pharmaceutical legislation [de]mands.

[Sc]ientists agreed that in principle [man]y substances could be produced by [bact]eria. They included interferons, [grow]th hormones, human insulin [(whi]ch will be available before the end [of th]e year), uricinase and other en[zyme]s, blood components and indivi[dual] vaccines.

[So]me are already industrially manu[fact]ured, pharmacologically and clini[call]y tested and standardised. Before [long] they should be available for use in [hum]an and veterinary medicine.

[In] the case of other agents, Professor [Hof]schneider said, the first stage of ge[neti]c engineering, isolation of the genes [and] their introduction into bacteria, [had] been completed.

[It] could generally be said that medi[cines] could be manufactured in this [way] by genetic manipulation of bacte[ria,] other micro-organisms and animal [cells].

[Bu]t it was no easy task. In particular, [gene]tic engineering was not an inexpen[sive] short cut. It was labour-intensive [and] required inter-disciplinary collabo[ration].

[Be]sides, strict safety precautions had [to] be observed to ensure that dangers [did] not arise to mankind one of these

The risks genetic engineering entailed had originally been grossly overestimated, but a level-headed assessment of the danger must not now give way to the diametrically opposite approach.

There must be no question of easing all restrictions to allow anyone to tinker around with bacteria.

Experience had also shown genetic research scientists that not every idea in genetic engineering achieved the desired results.

A method that was successful when used with one gene was by no means universally applicable. So mass production by bacteria could never produce goods off the peg, only made to measure.

Putting successful experiments in genetic engineering into industrial practice called for staying power and the financial backing that was needed to last the distance.

"It remains to be seen which method is better," he said, "the American approach of taking a deep breath, and the plunge, or the European preference for cautiously making the fire and tending the embers."

There could and should be no doubt that putting genetic research to industrial use was a task that must be performed by industry alone.

"Laboratories at universities and other research facilities can merely put together initial findings as part of their basic research orientation," he said. They could at best come up with the ideas.

This was not to say that the two sectors should work alongside each other and pay little or no attention to the other. Greater national transparency would be definitely both desirable and useful.

Professor Hofschneider ended with a look at the future. What could genetic engineering hope to accomplish in future, or were all its options already apparent?

"It is true that the last accessible pastures will soon be grazed, but it must also be realised that new and unpredictable opportunities will arise."

Further progress might be expected to result from the decoding of minute body proteins and from the automatic manufacture of genetic information.

Besides, "agents we as yet hardly know will be researched in the course of the 1990s and may be manufactured by means of genetic engineering.

"The result will be drugs and medicines that work in ways of which we are at present unaware, especially, perhaps, in connection with the immune system."

But the future of genetic engineering in medicine was surely not restricted solely to the manufacture of new drugs, Professor Hofschneider stressed that a start had been made in reproducing genes for use in improving ante-natal diagnosis.

It might well one day be possible to influence by genetic engineering diseases that were congenital or inherited.

He was thinking in terms of intervention in the somatic cell. If certain enzymes were missing this particular genetic defect could be remedied.

Only the individual patient could thus be cured. He would continue to bequeath it to his descendants.

Professor Hofschneider ruled out any possibility of ever identifying or influencing complex intellectual properties or character traits by means of such processes.

But these new diagnostic and therapeutic options nonetheless raised many

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Germany tries to keep up with the Midas touch

Micro-electronics, energy research and genetic engineering are widely considered to be the three main industrial growth sectors.

Ever since DNA, short for deoxyribonucleic acid, was identified as the basic substance of life a few years ago molecular biology has boomed as a research discipline.

So has genetic engineering, which opens up unsuspected opportunities in pharmaceuticals and chemicals.

German industry, which has been accused of missing the boat, is keen to keep up with developments. BASF is investing in genetic research at Heidelberg University.

Experts are convinced genetic engineering can be used to open up new opportunities in medicine, chemicals and agriculture.

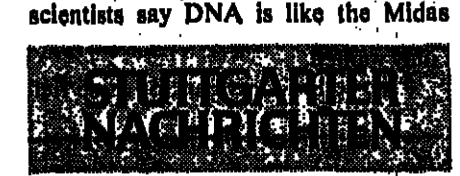
It can be used, for instance, to manufacture drugs that are not yet available, drugs ranging from an effective cure for the common cold to means of wielding what will probably be a much more specific influence on human behaviour than known psycho-pharmacological drugs.

Environmental protection could be activated by manufacturing bacteria that feed on pullution. Hereditary diseases could be cured by genetic manipulation.

In animal husbandry yields could be increased handsomely by developing, say, an effective vaccine to cure foot-and-mouth disease.

The same would be true of agriculture if genetic engineering were to succeed in enabling breeders to turn out new, super-resistant varieties of crop plants.

It is hardly surprising that many scientists say DNA is like the Midas



touch. Anyone who comes into contact with it goes mad, says Maurice Wilkins.

He is a British biophysicist who won the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1962.

Anglo-American economics journals have hailed genetic engineering as one of the greatest industrial opportunities of the 20th century.

American market research pundits say turnover will be over $7bn by 1990, while forecasts for the turn of the century are astronomical.

Many new companies have been launched to develop the new industry in the United States, which leads the world in genetic engineering, with Japan hard on its heels.

German industry and research scientists were fairly late to jump on the bandwaggon, being sharply criticised for being slow on the uptake by *Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik*, a magazine specialising in science and technology.

"Industry was reluctant," the magazine complained, "to participate in genetic engineering works under construction in the United States and Europe, facilities where top-flight research scientists convert their findings into commercial projects.

"Instead, companies pottered around in their own research laboratories trying to develop bacteria with new hereditary characteristics. They gradually fell behind, like do-it-yourselfers who try to go professional."

Even specialised research centres, the magazine said, had peacefully snoozed through the boom in genetic engineering.

Those days look like being over. Hoechst, the Frankfurt-based chemicals company, have decided to buy their way into US research.

They have given the Massachusetts General Hospital, Harvard's university hospital, DM50m to invest in further genetic engineering research with the emphasis on medical uses.

The MGH has a high reputation in this research sector, which is why Hoechst, who are major pharmaceuticals manufacturers, have been so keen to invest overseas.

BASF of Ludwigshafen have decided that charity begins at home. Over five years BASF, the second of Germany's three major chemicals manufacturers (the third is Bayer), are to invest DM5m in nearby Heidelberg.

They will be sharing with Heidelberg University the research findings of a new genetic engineering department.

BASF managing director Matthias Seefelder looks on this investment as a mere trigger. It is not, he says, just a BASF activity.

Other companies or the public sector are at liberty to participate in the project. BASF would not be insisting on research staff carrying out specific projects.

But two BASF research scientists will constantly be attached to the Heidelberg facility, so the company are confident of benefiting from microbiological research there.

Greater emphasis is to be placed on genetic engineering and its industrial uses at the company's own laboratories in Ludwigshafen, which is only a stone's throw away.

But BASF are reluctant to let the cat out of the bag and say what use they intend to make of genetic engineering. They are clearly keen to harness the mighty microbe to make a more elegant job of some of the work carried out in chemicals manufacture.

This would presumably mean the company could manufacture a number of products less expensively than its competitors, and possibly market entirely new products, such as specific fine chemicals or agents.

While BASF seem to be playing down the entire sector, there is some truth in allegations that reports from the United States are exaggerated and wishful thinking to raise investment capital.

A clear distinction must likewise be drawn between genetic engineering in research laboratories and in industrial production.

By no means everything that succeeds in the test-tube is bound to be a large-scale industrial success. The market could favour other developments.

A few years ago, for instance, artificial protein was felt to have a fine future as a means of bridging the protein gap. The humble soya bean has since proved much less expensive.

There are doubts about interferon, the drug that is claimed to achieve miraculous results in curing cancer. No-one can yet say for sure how it works and how it is manufactured.

A drug developed by genetic engi-

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■ MODERN LIVING

Noise: there's a never-ending supply of it, and it keeps getting louder

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

Noise levels, especially traffic noise, have continued to increase, says the Federal Environment Office in West Berlin.

The increasing number of vehicles on the roads is not the only reason why, according to a survey by the Bonn government agency.

Within 30 years the number of motor vehicles registered has increased from about two million to roughly 27 million, so it is clearly a contributory factor.

Another is that many noise abatement options are not taken up by motor vehicle manufacturers because they are too expensive.

Psychologists at the Free University in West Berlin have looked into traffic noise and discovered that it is not primarily the noise that makes people ill.

It is the annoyance they feel about the noise, which cannot, unlike atmospheric and water pollution, simply be ignored.

But unlike the other two it very seldom causes definite bodily harm or illness. Which makes it none the less a nuisance.

On top of the many other irritations of life it can make life unbearable for some city-dwellers, and low noise levels can be particularly insidious in effect,

Very loud noise can hurt, turn people deaf and heighten the risk of high blood pressure. Low noise is subtler in effect.

"Noise does not automatically have an effect," says Wolfgang Schönpflug, "and its effect doesn't necessarily increase in keeping with the noise level."

The crucial factor, he explains, is the subjective response to noise and its emotional assessment.

With financial backing from the Environment Office, Professor Schönpflug and his fellow-psychologists are looking into the repercussions of traffic noise on work, leisure and relaxation.

Noise, they say, has a nuisance value that must be born in mind, but it depends largely on the people involved, on their abilities and objectives.

Field workers went round works, offices and homes where traffic noise was loud asking people, using questionnaires and interviews, who was upset by the noise and why.

There were complaints about the burden of traffic noise at the end of the working day when people are already feeling tired and jaded.

People complained about sports cars that could be driven less noisily, unlike commercial vehicles, if their drivers only wanted.

"The serious drawback of these field studies," says Professor Schönpflug, "is that we cannot change noise levels and are not allowed to measure physical reactions to it."

So psychological noise research is centred on laboratory experiments in which human guinea pigs are subjected to traffic noise via loudspeakers or headphones for hours at a time.

At times it is just a noise accompaniment, at others it is overwhelming in volume. At times they are subjected to it while at work, at times while relaxing after work.

Fairly low noise levels can be extremely annoying, the professor says. So can sudden traffic roars,

The ring of a cycle bell, the roar of a truck or the two-tone horn of an ambulance in normal traffic inevitably attract attention.

This attention paid to the individual noise event often triggers the first response.

The emotional assessment of an ambulance horn can vary from briefly registering that the ambulance is out again to fears that one might be personally involved,

Those who feel the noise strikes a personal chord will tensely await the next ambulance noise after registering their first.

In one experiment psychologists sought to find out how traffic noise or quiet affected the learning processes of their volunteers.

The human guinea pigs were asked to solve 10 tasks on a monitor screen that corresponded to office jobs such as checking a bill with, say, a price list.

All tasks were similar in outline and ought, after initial attempts, to have been solved with increasing ease and speed.

The findings showed that t noise hampers the learning pro as a whole. But learning new techniques is hampered increasing riously the less bright the test per are.

The volunteers were given brief i ligence tests before the experimen classify them in this respect.

Another experiment indicated noise is occasionally blamed for fa "It always intervenes where cr points already exist," says Prof Schönpflug.

During leisure activities it tends the other way round. A slight lev activity diverts attention from tr noise.

It is when no activity whatever is dertaken that noise tends to be most noying.

One group were asked to look at ture books, another to lie outstret and at their ease in deckchairs a third were taught relaxation techni

As the noise level was gradually ped up they were then asked how they felt or how tiresome the noise Their heartbeat, pulse and elect skin resistance were measured too.

In their assessments of how they during and after noise exposure, pe who had not been taught relaxa techniques said they felt tense, sens to noise, annoyed and irritated.

As a rule these feelings gained in tensity as the noise increased. Peo who tended to be nervous were upset by the noise than others.

Professor Schönpflug says his f ings indicate that different peopl different situations react different noise exposure.

But that, he feels, is no reason people should not try to do somet about noise, such as calling for in tion of buildings or reaching a ments with the neighbours.

They might also try to persuade authorities to keep traffic to a mini or submit applications for damages.

Ursula Falkenst

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 25 September

Midas touch

Continued from page 13

neering to cure the common cold would undeniably be a pharmaceutical money-spinner. But it may be a long time coming.

Even so, moves by Hoechst and BASF indicate that German manufacturers are keen to reduce the estimated four-year lead established by the United States.

The gap, says a BASF spokesman, may be due to the fact that young US scientists with bright ideas are much more flexible than their German counterparts.

They look into new ideas, switch to new companies, set up working parties and are quick to launch new firms, whereas in Germany the process is more cumbersome.

He is also critical of German universities where, he says, inter-disciplinary research is more difficult.

This is a view shared by Eckehard Bautz, who has worked at the cradle of genetic engineering in the United States and returned to Germany to run the new research facility in Heidelberg.

He is determined to emphasise all that is best in inter-disciplinary research. But he too is unable to say when what is likely to be researched or manufactured.

Genetic engineering is still in its early days and full of surprises, but on one point he is definite: "Even if only one research project in 100 comes up tops it could prove a real money-spinner."

Most of the genetic engineering companies newly established in the United States will not, he feels, succeed in making a major discovery and quietly fold.

But one or the other seems sure to be a success, and this is a point German industry at long last seems to have taken.

In addition to individual projects by Hoechst and BASF the entire chemical industry now plans to go in for genetic engineering on a large scale.

Bolke Behrens

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 25 September 1982)

The individual worlds of small children

Children of different ages live in different worlds, development psychologists say. When they play or engage in other activities toegether they have to adjust to each other's mental horizons.

Peter L. Mangione of the Max Planck Psychiatry Institute, Munich, outlines how they do so in the latest issue of *Zeitschrift für Entwicklungspsychologie und Pädagogische Psychologie.*

The younger partners in such unequal relationships are first and foremost engaged in imitation the behaviour of their elders and superiors. Children prefer to model themselves on an older friend than on an adult.

The behaviour patterns of other children are more specific, less complex and probably easier to imitate than those of the "grown-ups."

Experiments have also shown that children would sooner model their behaviour on that of older friends than on younger playmates or children of their own age.

This preference even prevails when children are merely told that the others are much older, while older children rely on imitation to exert pressure on the younger.

There are various examples to indicate that the children who have the upper hand imitate, or pretend to imitate, the others as a means of gaining control over relations between them.

Parents often imitate a baby's behaviour to gain its attention and control understanding. This parental initiative can often trigger a chain reaction of imitation.

Older children at times imitate younger children as a means of wielding power in much the same way.

Children told by test supervisors to keep an eye on younger children more often imitated their younger than others of their age who were not given this instruction.

Disputes with their elders and the contradictions they entail are probably very important for the mental development of children.

Experiences that run counter to their own stage of development probably benefit the process of mental development toward intellectual maturity.

But such new impressions that are at odds with what the children themselves see and feel must not be too far removed from their own mental outlook.

There clearly is a specific, optimum development gap that is best. Mo are most readily imitated when they just one stage further up in the sca development.

When children get together w abilities are too far apart the you may be completely lorded over by older instead of playing an active of their own in the relationship.

Linguistically too, children adju their playmates. Four-year-olds, fo stance, talk more simply when have to make themselves understoo two-year-olds.

What they do is reduce the m length of their comments, in much same way as adults try to modify speech in conversing with forei whose command of Germans is lim

In conversing with children of own age or with adults, on the o hand, children pull out all the sto their vocabulary and command of guage.

Both five- and seven-year-olds their sentences in grammar and co to make themselves understood by year-olds.

But seven-year-olds do so by w anticipation, whereas five-year only adjust by way of response, in words when the two-year-old has f to understand them.

Rolf De

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 23 Septembe

SOCIETY

Anatomy of a modern fräulein: confident educated and ready for anything

re is no stopping girls these days. ey want it all and they want it ys a survey of 15- to 19-year-old made for *Brigitte*, a women's ma-

y naturally want to be beautiful. ry out new hair styles, clothes w they look when they use make- nd at times they are unsure whe- hey are pretty or not.

teenage girls today sit more re- nd less plagued by self-doubt in of the mirror than their mothers

h used to be tormented by the at their friends were better-look- nd they were as ugly as sin, but this is much less widespread than it o be.

s today feel the impression a n creates is just as important as ks.

y are more independent and self- d than their mothers, say Munich gists Gerlinde Seidenspinner ngelika Burger.

ir survey of 15- to 19-year-old in the Federal Republic of Germa- as a representative poll by the Affairs Institute, Munich, for

s today were found to be better ed for their future than past ge- ns. They have learnt to be active e matters into their own hands. ve all, they have learnt how to The educational reforms of the have affected them much more dly than boys of their age.

e girls not only are better educat- n their mothers; they are better ed than their fathers too.

y learn at length, with a definite n mind and with every encourage- from their parents. It is as though e had ever said:

ls don't need to learn anything they will settle down and get d later anyway."

killed young women have declin- tically in number. There are girls than boys at *Gymnasium*, any's higher secondary school g to university entrance qualifica- Girls have outstripped boys in educational qualifications.

y are correspondingly self-assured in dealing with the other sex. They get their own way. Fifteen-year-olds want to talk with boy-friends about everything, to kiss and cuddle.

But they don't want to have sex with them. They don't feel ready and aren't going to let themselves be pushed into it.

Only five per cent of 15-year-old girls have had sexual intercourse. That is more than twice as many as admitted to having had sex in a similar survey 10 years ago.

When older girls sleep with their boy-friends it is because both want to do so, because they like each other and not at the outset of a friendship.

Country girls are the exception. They get down to business sooner. In many respects they are more determined, self-confident and cheerfully active than city girls.

More than 60 per cent feel it is important to gain sexual experience. But by 18 or 19 most have a steady boyfriend; he may well be their later husband.

Only girls with a higher school education are less willing to commit themselves. They hold their options open in all walks of life and are more ready to consider a change.

Sixty-four per cent of girls questioned said a career mattered most, and this priority was uniformly spread throughout all social groups.

They did not have wildly unrealistic expectations; they merely saw a career as a means of getting established on their own.

A minority hoped that work would enable them to develop their capabilities, but less than one girl in three wants to go in for a career.

They have a shrewd suspicion of what lies in store. More than half are worried they will get no job satisfaction. Three out of four feel there is discrimination against women at work. Thirty-one per cent are afraid they may be unable to find a job of any kind.

But girls still want everything, a job and a family, a husband and two children. It must all be reconcilable some time and somehow or other.

Many find the idea of foreign travel in the sense of staying abroad for any length of time rather than just going on holiday strange. They are equally reluctant to consider forgoing children for the sake of a career.

Daughters of single mothers disagree. They set much greater store by a job than by a family. But although they generally appear self-assured they seem unsure of themselves and are decidedly old-fashioned in their dealings with boys.

Most naturally plan to ensure that they live different lives than at home, where mothers sacrifice themselves and fathers just do the odd job around the house.

Marriage they see as a partnership, but emancipation has its limits when the chips are down. About one girl in two feels unemployment is worse for a man than for a woman.

This fits their somewhat vague expectations of life. Most would like to combine work and a family but have no intention of neglecting their children.

They plan to work part-time and confidently expect to do what only civil servants can be sure of: staying at home for as long as the children need them, then going back to their old job.

So it is only realistic to look on the man as the breadwinner and to see themselves as staying at home to look after the children if need be.

A surprising aspect of the survey's findings is that the next generation of wives and mothers are decidedly moderate in their views. They may want to see changes but their views are traditional in many respects.

Thirteen per cent are active in the peace movement and over half are seriously interested in politics. Many girls feel attracted by the Greens, or environmentalists.

Women's libbers and squatters can expect sympathy rather than active support. Extremism is rejected at both ends of the political spectrum, as are punks.

The 'no future' slogan does not seem to fit this generation at all. Fifty per cent of 15- to 19-year-old girls look forward to the future.

Ulla Plog

(Die Zeit, 24 September 1982)

isappointment

Continued from page 13

l issues that no-one could yet an-

essor Hofschneider also ruled y possibility of interfering with embryonic shield. Such radical y could be put to no meaningful

inating though a glimpse at the of genetic research was, he said, s in basic research into cell phy- y and pathology must not be oked.

ch-making new ideas about the lay of genetic and other factors in h and decay might one day prove curative than all the drugs that ly fire the imagination of genetic eers.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 22 September 1982)

80-hour work week for the housewife

Housewives work over 80 hours a week, says Dr Irmhild Kettschau, a Dortmund expert on household affairs, in a report on four-member families for *Hör zu*, the weekly radio and TV magazine.

More than 11.5 million housewives and mothers in the Federal Republic of Germany do more than a man's work in looking after the home and family and often going out to work too, she says.

Housewives were found by the survey to spend 24 hours a week cleaning around the home. They spend on average a further 17 hours looking after the children and 16 hours in the kitchen.

Six-and-a-half hours are spent washing, 5.4 hours shopping, 4.6 hours ironing. At the kitchen sink, statisticians claim, the German *Hausfrau* washes up on average 18,000 knives, forks and spoons, 13,000 plates and 6,000 cups and glasses a year.

Welt am Sonntag, 19 September 1982)

A helping hand at a crucial time of life

Women over 55 are the target of an experiment in social work in Tübingen backed since October 1980 by the Bonn Family Affairs Ministry.

The aim is to help women to help themselves and each other at what is for most a crucial time of life, a time when they no longer feel needed, by the family or at work, and are at a loss what to do.

The Tübingen project, run by three women, a psychologist and two educationalists, aims to cater for women nearing 60 who face retirement or have lost their partner and feel particularly crisis-stricken.

The facilities offered vary, being designed to meet requirements. One group that meets regularly once a month consists of women who spend their time looking after a sick member of the family.

They meet to discuss problems and to consider what they can still make of their own lives. They have always felt they were duty-bound to serve the family, but it is a particularly heavy burden looking after the sick, the aged and the infirm.

A stand-in now and then would be marvellous, but who would help? Is there any way of finding temporary care and accommodation so I can go on holiday once in a while?

How do other women cope with the problems? Isn't it nearly too much for them at times? Are there possibilities of financial assistance?

These are some of the questions dealt with at the monthly meetings of this particular self-help group.

Another group is the Friday evening group for over-55s. It is designed as an open-ended facility for women in the age group.

They meet to play games, to go the cinema, to discuss issues of general and personal interest and to make contacts that may develop into friendships.

Many women nowadays live in virtual isolation. They arrange their week so they can go shopping for something or other every day as something to look forward to.

The group also includes women who retire and suddenly find themselves confronted by an unexpected vacuum after a busy working life.

Old people are usually offered passive consumption as entertainment, says Ellen Wolf of the Bonn Family Affairs Ministry. The aim of the Tübingen project is to prompt inactive women to develop ideas and creative activity of their own.

This aim has been achieved in part. Some women how meet regularly during the week without supervision to do their own thing.

A third group deals with problems of the menopause. After consultation with medical specialists it transpired that even women over 60 still felt this physical change of life was extremely problematic.

The group is aimed at enabling women who are in the middle of the menopause to compare nores and to help others who are over the peak of the problem to work it out.

The project hopes to find out how to approach women in situations that they may feel are unsatisfactory and to enable them to play a more active part in life.

To do so it has established links not only with older women but also with institutions such as the trade unions, employers and the Church.

The aim is to bring about a change in the general assessment and social status of older women. The project still enjoys financial and scientific backing, but once it is ended as a pilot project and scientific experiment it will carry on under its own steam.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 4 September 1982)